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FOCUS

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

JULY 1989

Ranking the Nation's Most Punitive and Costly States

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HIGHLIGHTS

This issue of NCCD FOCUS represents the second annual "Ranking the Nation's Most Punitive States."[1] The United States, now with more than 625,000 inmates in prison, has long been recognized as a country that imprisons a large portion of its population. Since 1980, the nation's imprisonment rate has nearly doubled.[2] Presently, over 40 states are under some form of litigation related to crowding or unconstitutional conditions of confinement.

This surge in the number of inmates has been interpreted by some as an indication of a more punitive attitude toward the crime problem that characterizes the politics of contemporary criminal justice. Punitive attitudes have traditionally been cited as the reason certain states and regions have higher imprisonment rates than the nation as a whole.

As states respond to the pressure of overcrowding, more attention is being paid to comparing states in terms of their use of other forms of control in addition to prisons. And, states are also concerned with the high costs of these systems. State and federal prison population data, the most obvious means of calculating comparative imprisonment rates, reflect only a single component of a jurisdiction's correctional system and exclude other far-reaching forms of incarceration and control, including jails, juvenile facilities, and parole and probation.

For these reasons, the domain of prison control must be evaluated in relation to, and in many cases as overlapping with, the control exercised by other correctional control systems. This has become all the more obvious in recent years, as many states, facing crisis situations in their prisons, have placed many offenders in a wide variety of non-prison correctional settings.

The major findings of this report are:

- The nation's use of prisons, jails, probation and parole continues to grow at record levels. More than one out of every 100 persons are under the control of the criminal justice system.3
- Washington, D.C., ranks number one in all forms of punishment and criminal justice expenditures. Despite an enormous investment in criminal justice agencies, policy makers have recently chosen the nation's capitol as the site for further investment in more incarcerative policies.
- The South continues to have the highest regional imprisonment rate and the highest total control rate. However, the West, fueled by dramatic increases in California, has the highest regional total incarceration rate (including jails and juvenile facilities, as well as prisons).
- In 1987, it cost each man, woman, and child $211 per year to fund state and local criminal justice systems. This figure compares with $95 in 1979.
- There is a strong correlation between rates of criminal justice expenditures and crime rates. States that spend the most on criminal justice have the highest crime rates. Despite a continuing increase in expenditures for criminal justice agencies and in the use of formal punishment, crime rates continue to escalate.

IMPRISONMENT VS. TOTAL INCARCERATION RATES

The most commonly used gauge of the punitive nature of a state or geographic region is the imprisonment rate. This rate typically refers to the number of persons in prison on a given day, per 100,000 state population. Southern states have historically had the highest levels of imprisonment in the country, which has been interpreted by some experts as reflecting the conservative political and social values of that region.

Table 1 shows the rates of imprisonment for the 50 states and Washington, D.C. Among the 15 states with the highest rates of imprisonment, 11 were Southern states (including Washington, D.C.). The table also shows that the Southern region had the highest imprisonment rate followed by the West, Midwest and Northeast. Among the 15 states with the lowest rates of imprisonment, seven states were in the Northeast and six were in the Midwest.

Overall, state rankings for imprisonment varied little from last year's report, which used 1986 data. However, a few states showed significant increases or decreases in their imprisonment rate between 1986 and 1987. Interestingly, Washington, D.C., which has the highest imprisonment rate in the nation, increased its imprisonment rate from 1,078.4 in 1986 to 1,197.4 per 100,000 in 1987. Alaska is second with a rate of 481.5 per 100,000 and replaces

Table 1: Imprisonment vs. Incarceration Rates

Rank	State	1987 Population*	1987 Prisoners	Imprisonment Rate***
1	D.C.	622	7,448	1,197.4
2	Alaska	525	2,528	481.5
3	Delaware	644	2,931	455.1
4	Nevada	1,007	4,434	440.3
5	South Carolina	3,425	12,664	369.8
6	Louisiana	4,461	15,375	344.7
7	Arizona	3,386	10,948	323.3
8	Alabama	4,083	12,827	314.2
9	Georgia	6,222	18,575	298.5
10	Maryland	4,535	13,467	297.0
11	Oklahoma	3,272	9,639	294.6
12	Florida	12,023	32,445	269.9
13	North Carolina	6,413	17,249	269.0
14	Mississippi	2,625	6,831	260.2
15	Michigan	9,200	23,879	259.6
16	California	27,663	66,975	242.1
17	Kansas	2,476	5,881	237.5
18	Connecticut	3,211	7,511	233.9
19	Texas	16,789	38,821	231.2
20	New York	17,825	40,842	229.1
21	Arkansas	2,388	5,443	227.9
22	Virginia	5,904	13,321	225.6
23	Ohio	10,784	24,240	224.8
24	Missouri	5,103	11,357	222.6
25	Hawaii	1,083	2,268	209.4
26	Oregon	2,724	5,482	201.2
27	Indiana	5,531	10,827	195.8
28	Wyoming	490	940	191.8
29	New Jersey	7,672	13,662	178.1
30	New Mexico	1,500	2,648	176.5
31	Illinois	11,582	19,850	171.4
32	South Dakota	709	1,135	160.1
33	Tennessee	4,855	7,624	157.0
34	Idaho	998	1,482	148.5
35	Kentucky	3,727	5,471	146.8
36	Montana	809	1,187	146.7
37	Colorado	3,296	4,808	145.9
38	Rhode Island	986	1,429	144.9
39	Vermont	548	759	138.5
40	Pennsylvania	11,936	16,267	136.3
41	Washington	4,538	6,131	135.1
42	Nebraska	1,594	2,086	130.9
43	Wisconsin	4,807	6,001	124.8
44	Utah	1,680	1,888	112.4
45	Maine	1,187	1,328	111.9
46	Massachusetts	5,855	6,238	106.5
47	Iowa	2,834	2,863	101.0
48	New Hampshire	1,057	867	82.0
49	West Virginia	1,897	1,461	77.0
50	North Dakota	672	430	64.0
51	Minnesota	4,246	2,546	60.0
REGION				
SOUTH		83,885	221,592	264.2
WEST		49,699	111,719	224.8
MIDWEST		59,538	111,095	186.6
NORTHEAST		50,277	88,903	176.8
TOTALS		243,399	533,309	219.1

Rank	State	1987 Persons in Jail**	Jail Rate***	1987 Juveniles in Custody	Total Incarceration Rate****
1	D.C.	1,674	269.1	413	1,533.0
2	Nevada	1,925	191.1	482	679.3
3	Louisiana	10,300	230.8	1,028	598.6
4	Alaska	0 +	0 +	178	515.4
5	California	60,802	219.7	14,712	515.1
6	Arizona	5,137	151.7	1,019	505.1
7	South Carolina	3,675	107.2	715	497.9
8	Florida	24,602	204.6	2,311	493.7
9	Delaware	0 +	0 +	169	481.4
10	Georgia	9,504	152.7	1,338	472.8
11	Alabama	4,326	105.9	804	439.8
12	Maryland	4,985	109.9	1,032	429.6
13	Tennessee	10,514	216.5	1,038	395.0
14	Oklahoma	2,734	83.55	446	391.8
15	Texas	23,453	139.6	2,421	385.3
16	Virginia	7,738	131.0	1,456	381.4
17	New Jersey	13,107	170.8	1,997	374.9
18	New York	23,694	132.9	2,226	374.5
19	Michigan	8,547	92.90	1,816	372.2
20	North Carolina	5,380	83.89	812	365.5
21	Kansas	1,914	77.30	676	342.1
22	Ohio	8,729	80.94	3,126	334.7
23	Arkansas	1,982	82.99	249	321.4
24	Oregon	2,469	90.63	592	313.6
25	Mississippi	1,018	38.78	355	312.5
26	Indiana	4,710	85.15	1,320	304.8
27	New Mexico	1,428	95.2	491	304.5
28	Wyoming	377	76.93	173	304.1
29	Illinois	12,616	108.9	1,930	297.0
30	Missouri	2,854	55.92	815	294.5
31	Kentucky	4,696	125.9	607	289.1
32	Washington	5,281	116.3	1,134	276.5
33	Colorado	3,793	115.0	503	276.2
34	Wisconsin	5,750	119.6	686	258.7
35	Pennsylvania	13,195	110.5	1,103	256.1
36	Connecticut	0 +	0 +	227	241.0
37	South Dakota	294	41.46	228	233.7
38	Montana	412	50.92	228	225.8
39	Idaho	630	63.12	117	223.3
40	Hawaii	0 +	0 +	149	223.2
41	Nebraska	1,174	73.65	274	221.7
42	Iowa	2,736	96.54	427	212.6
43	Massachusetts	4,740	80.95	212	191.1
44	Utah	1,066	63.45	217	188.8
45	Maine	572	48.18	214	178.1
46	New Hampshire	807	76.34	126	170.3
47	Rhode Island	0 +	0 +	105	155.6
48	Minnesota	3,106	73.15	581	146.8
49	West Virginia	1,154	60.83	141	145.3
50	Vermont	0 +	0 +	15	141.2
51	North Dakota	245	36.45	69	110.7
REGION					
WEST		83,320	167.6	19,995	432.7
SOUTH		117,735	140.4	15,335	422.8
NORTHEAST		56,115	111.6	6,225	300.8
MIDWEST		52,675	88.5	11,948	295.1
TOTALS		309,845	127.3	53,503	368.4

* Total population in thousands.

** Average daily jail populations for 1987 are estimates drawn from published reports and phone calls to individual state officials.

*** Per 100,000 total population (1987), as reported in the 1987 UCR.

**** Number of persons in prison, jail, and juvenile facilities per 100,000 total population (1987).

\+ In the states of Alaska, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Rhode Island, and Vermont, which maintain combined prison and jail systems, all inmates are accounted for in the prison figures.

Nevada as the state with the highest imprisonment rate. However, Alaska's high ranking is misleading as its prison figures include persons awaiting trial or serving short sentences. In most other states these inmates are counted in jail populations.

To correct for this bias, we created a "total incarceration rate" which includes prison and jail populations and juveniles in custody.[4] When the states are ranked according to this criterion, the West replaces the South as the nation's leader with a rate of 432.7 per 100,000. Nevada reassumes its number one state ranking, and D.C. continues to have the highest rate of incarceration (four times the national average). California's dramatic increase in prison, jail and juvenile facility populations is the main reason the West has taken the lead in incarceration. Since the previous NCCD report, California added about 6,500 inmates to its prison population, more than 19,000 inmates to its jail population, and 2,100 children to its juvenile facilities.

When the total incarceration measure is compared to the imprisonment rate, significant changes occur among the states with respect to their national ranking. Tennessee, for example, moves from 33 to 13 in total incarceration, in part because the state houses many state prisoners in local jails due to a consent decree restricting prison populations. The same phenomenon also explains increases in rankings for other states including New Jersey, Texas, and Louisiana.

Connecticut, on the other hand, moves down to a rank of 36 for total incarceration compared to a rank of 18 for imprisonment. Similar declines for other states, such as Hawaii, Rhode Island and Vermont, simply reflect that they also have consolidated jail and prison systems.

TOTAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE CONTROL RATES

In order to examine the true extent of people under control of the criminal justice system, adults on probation and parole must be accounted for in addition to those who are in prison, jail and juvenile facilities (Table 2).[5] Using this measure, Texas and North Dakota are on either end of the total control rate spectrum — Texas with a rate of 2,512 and North Dakota with a rate of 374 per 100,000 people under control of the criminal justice system. Once again, D.C. far exceeds the national average with an extraordinary rate of 3,885. Put differently, this statistic means that nearly four out of every 100 persons in the District of Columbia are under the control of the criminal justice system.[6]

The average total control rate for the top 10 states in 1987 is 2,194 per 100,000, up from the 1985 rate of 1,794. In these states, over two out of every 100 adults is under some form of criminal justice control. The average total control rate for the lowest 10 states in 1987 is 587 per 100,000, compared to last year's report, when it was 550 per 100,000.

Total control rates provide a different ranking of the 50 states and Washington, D.C., compared to imprisonment and total incarceration rankings. Only three of the states ranking in the top 10 for total control were also in the top ten for imprisonment and incarceration rates. Conversely, several states that ranked among the top 10 in terms of total control ranked much lower in terms of their imprisonment rates. Massachusetts, Washington and Connecticut rank 46, 41 and 18 respectively in imprisonment rates. But, because these states rely heavily on probation and parole, they ranked 6, 7 and 10 respectively in total control. And, Minnesota, which ranks 51 in imprisonment, goes up to 21 in total control.

RELATIONSHIPS TO REPORTED CRIMES AND ARRESTS

As stated in last year's report, one might assume that there is a relationship between the rates of total control and the amount of crime experienced within individual states. One can show this with the following ratio: the number of people counted in the numerator of the total control rate, divided by the annual number of index crimes reported to the

Table 2: Total Control Rate

Rank	State	1987 Adults on Probation	Adult Probation Rate*	1987 Adults on Parole	Adult Parole Rate*	Total Control Rate**
1	D.C.	10,797	2,222	3,834	789.0	3,885.2
2	Texas	289,690	2,454	67,308	570.2	2,511.7
3	Georgia	110,484	2,463	10,917	243.4	2,423.9
4	Maryland	72,816	2,135	8,063	236.4	2,213.1
5	Delaware	9,288	1,927	1,113	230.9	2,096.4
6	Massachusetts	98,061	2,170	4,018	88.9	1,934.6
7	Washington	58,421	1,734	10,446	310.0	1,794.0
8	Florida	153,210	1,644	2,873	30.8	1,791.9
9	Michigan	113,996	1,691	6,365	94.4	1,680.5
10	Connecticut	43,659	1,779	466	19.0	1,615.2
11	California	239,851	1,178	41,335	203.0	1,531.6
12	Louisiana	30,313	964	7,243	230.3	1,440.5
13	North Carolina	62,940	1,315	4,646	97.1	1,419.4
14	Indiana	56,978	1,403	3,071	75.6	1,390.5
15	Nevada	5,338	707	1,598	211.6	1,368.1
16	New Jersey	55,787	955	15,709	268.9	1,306.9
17	Pennsylvania	85,084	937	38,398	422.9	1,290.6
18	South Carolina	23,608	950	3,219	129.5	1,281.2
19	Arizona	22,598	916	2,224	90.1	1,238.2
20	Oregon	22,971	1,127	2,116	103.8	1,234.6
21	Minnesota	44,363	1,415	1,444	46.1	1,225.6
22	Missouri	41,068	1,082	6,358	167.5	1,223.8
23	Vermont	5,593	1,371	200	49.0	1,198.4
24	Kansas	18,189	997	2,676	146.7	1,184.8
25	New York	113,153	840	31,244	231.9	1,184.6
26	Oklahoma	23,553	990	1,762	74.1	1,165.5
27	Hawaii	8,832	1,114	1,012	126.9	1,136.7
28	Tennessee	26,403	733	9,263	257.2	1,129.6
29	Illinois	82,332	963	13,566	158.7	1,125.0
30	Alaska	2,941	831	135	38.1	1,101.3
31	Alabama	23,406	789	3,418	115.2	1,096.8
32	Ohio	71,492	900	5,988	75.4	1,053.2
33	Arkansas	13,475	774	3,932	225.9	1,050.3
34	Rhode Island	8,181	1,081	423	55.9	1,028.2
35	Nebraska	11,511	983	459	39.2	972.6
36	Wisconsin	26,172	740	3,993	112.9	886.2
37	Virginia	17,945	404	6,284	141.5	791.7
38	Colorado	14,456	597	1,680	69.4	765.8
39	Wyoming	1,841	538	358	104.6	752.9
40	Iowa	12,745	606	1,966	93.5	731.7
41	Idaho	4,146	598	641	92.5	703.0
42	Mississippi	6,752	368	3,456	188.4	701.4
43	Montana	3,168	542	624	106.8	694.6
44	South Dakota	2,594	506	469	91.5	665.7
45	New Mexico	4,010	381	1,194	113.4	651.4
46	New Hampshire	4,150	525	640	81.0	623.5
47	Utah	5,833	555	1,137	108.2	603.6
48	Kentucky	7,181	263	3,338	122.3	571.3
49	Maine	4,605	521	0 ***	0 ***	566.0
50	West Virginia	4,421	314	841	59.7	422.7
51	North Dakota	1,616	333	151	31.1	373.7
REGION						
SOUTH		886,282	1,441	141,510	230.1	1,648.0
WEST		394,456	1,087	64,500	177.7	1,356.1
NORTHEAST		418,273	1,095	91,098	238.5	1,313.9
MIDWEST		483,056	1,101	46,506	106.0	1,184.6
TOTALS		2,182,067	1,247	343,614	196.4	1,406.1

* Per 100,000 adult population.
** Per 100,000 total population. Total Control Rate includes all persons in prison and jail, juveniles in custody, and adults on probation and parole.
*** Maine eliminated parole in 1976.

Table 3: Total Control/Crime Ratio

Rank	State	Total Index Crimes	Crime Rate*	Total Control Rate*	Total Control/ Crime Ratio
1	D.C.	52,569	8,451.6	3,885.2	0.460
2	Delaware	31,806	4,938.8	2,096.4	0.424
3	Georgia	360,379	5,792.0	2,423.9	0.418
4	Massachusetts	277,165	4,733.8	1,934.6	0.409
5	Pennsylvania	377,563	3,163.2	1,290.6	0.408
6	Maryland	248,409	5,477.6	2,213.1	0.404
7	Indiana	227,864	4,119.8	1,390.5	0.338
8	Texas	1,296,519	7,722.4	2,511.7	0.325
9	Connecticut	160,413	4,995.7	1,615.2	0.323
10	North Carolina	298,196	4,649.9	1,419.4	0.305
11	Vermont	23,406	4,271.2	1,198.4	0.281
12	Minnesota	195,986	4,615.8	1,225.6	0.266
13	Michigan	594,026	6,456.8	1,680.5	0.260
14	Missouri	240,222	4,707.5	1,223.8	0.260
15	Washington	318,436	7,017.1	1,794.0	0.256
16	South Dakota	18,987	2,678.0	665.7	0.249
17	New Jersey	403,662	5,261.5	1,306.9	0.248
18	South Carolina	176,794	5,161.9	1,281.2	0.248
19	Arkansas	101,376	4,245.2	1,050.3	0.247
20	Alabama	181,751	4,451.4	1,096.8	0.246
21	Louisiana	262,006	5,873.3	1,440.5	0.245
22	Tennessee	226,516	4,665.6	1,129.6	0.242
23	Kansas	121,420	4,903.9	1,184.8	0.242
24	Nebraska	65,857	4,131.6	972.6	0.235
25	California	1,799,871	6,506.4	1,531.6	0.235
26	Ohio	493,400	4,575.3	1,053.2	0.230
27	Nevada	64,160	6,371.4	1,368.1	0.215
28	Wisconsin	200,425	4,169.4	886.2	0.213
29	Florida	1,022,335	8,503.2	1,791.9	0.211
30	Illinois	627,342	5,416.5	1,125.0	0.208
31	Alaska	28,232	5,377.5	1,101.3	0.205
32	Mississippi	90,263	3,438.6	701.4	0.204
33	Virginia	233,768	3,959.5	791.7	0.200
34	New York	1,061,021	5,952.4	1,184.6	0.199
35	Hawaii	63,008	5,817.9	1,136.7	0.195
36	Rhode Island	52,115	5,285.5	1,028.2	0.195
37	Oklahoma	197,159	6,025.6	1,165.5	0.193
38	West Virginia	41,558	2,190.7	422.7	0.193
39	Wyoming	19,753	4,031.2	752.9	0.187
40	New Hampshire	35,639	3,371.7	623.5	0.185
41	Oregon	189,835	6,969.0	1,234.6	0.177
42	Iowa	117,334	4,140.2	731.7	0.177
43	Kentucky	121,873	3,270.0	571.3	0.175
44	Arizona	243,405	7,188.6	1,238.2	0.172
45	Idaho	41,480	4,156.3	703.0	0.169
46	Maine	41,928	3,532.3	566.0	0.160
47	Montana	37,209	4,599.4	694.6	0.151
48	North Dakota	19,038	2,833.0	373.7	0.132
49	Colorado	212,634	6,451.3	765.8	0.119
50	Utah	94,393	5,618.6	603.6	0.107
51	New Mexico	98,202	6,546.8	651.4	0.099
REGION					
SOUTH		4,943,277	5,892.9	1,648.0	0.280
NORTHEAST		2,432,912	4,839.0	1,313.9	0.272
MIDWEST		2,921,901	4,907.6	1,184.6	0.241
WEST		3,210,618	6,460.1	1,356.1	0.210
TOTALS		13,508,708	5,550.0	1,406.1	0.253

*** Per 100,000 total population.**

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The ratio shows the total number of people under control in relation to the number of reported crimes, rather than the number of people in the population. Such a ratio attempts to control for variations in crime rates and arrest practices.

The data presented in Table 3 represent crime data from the FBI's 1987 Uniform Crime Report (UCR). It should be noted that the absence of standardization for time periods causes some level of unknown error as the number of agencies reporting to UCR vary from year to year.

If the level of crime explains why states vary in their use of incarceration, probation and parole, one would expect to see little variation across the states in total control/crime ratios. States with relatively high rates of crime should have correspondingly high total control rates; states with low rates of control should have correspondingly low total control rates. But, in both cases, the total control/crime ratios would be similar. However, as shown in Table 3, variations among the states continue.

Washington, D.C., again has the highest total control/crime ratio which is nearly five times greater than the lowest ratio, New Mexico (.460 vs. .099). In other words, for every 100 index crimes reported to police in Washington, D.C., there were 46 people under some form of criminal justice control; while in New Mexico, there were only nine people under control for every 100 reported index crimes. When Washington, D.C., is excluded, the highest ranking state is Delaware, which still has a ratio over four times greater than New Mexico. The South retains the top ranking among the regions in total control/crime ratio. Significantly, the West now has the lowest ratio, which reflects its higher rates of reported crime compared to the other regions.

These data indicate differences among the states in their rates of total control are only partially related to the differences in their crime rates. Policies within the criminal justice systems in these states are responsible for the relative numbers of people who are under formal supervision and control.

The final analysis shown in Table 4 uses a ratio of people imprisoned to index arrests and a ratio of total control to index arrests. In some ways, the imprisonment to arrest ratio is a superior measure of punitiveness in that it reflects the use of the most punitive sanction, given the number of arrests made in that state for serious crimes. Table 4 shows that there is a continuation of the extreme level of variation among the states as well as a re-ordering of the state rankings. Most significantly, Western states in general, and California in particular, rank much lower in this analysis.

Since jurisdictions may vary considerably in the number of crimes cleared by arrest, one might expect a closer relationship to exist between arrest rates and the number of people under formal control within a state.

Again, a narrow range of ratios would have indicated a fairly strong relationship between the arrest rate and the total control rate. The data, however, show a very broad range, from a relatively low ratio of .713 in Montana to 6.189 in Massachusetts (this high ratio for Massachusetts can be attributed to the inclusion of the administrative probation caseload as noted in footnote 6). Thus, in Massachusetts, there were 6.2 people under correctional control for every index arrest that occurred in the state. By contrast, in Montana, there were 0.7 people in the "controlled population" for every index arrest.

EXPENDITURES FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE ACTIVITIES

This final section introduces an additional source of information available from the U.S. Census Bureau: the per capita expenditures of state and local governments for justice activities including police protection, judicial/legal services, and corrections (Table 5).

According to these data, the nation spent a total of $51.4 billion in 1987, or approximately $211 per woman, man, and child for its state and local criminal justice agencies. Not included here are the costs for private security systems ($21.7 billion in 1980) or the costs of federal criminal justice agencies ($5.7 billion in 1985).[7]

Significantly, the amount of direct losses to households, banks and commercial businesses is approximately

Table 4: Prisoner/Arrest and Total Control/Arrest Ratios

Rank	State	1987 Adult Arrests*	Prisoner/ Arrest Ratio	Rank	State	Total Control/ Arrest Ratio**
1	D.C.	8,272	0.900	1	Massachusetts	6.189
2	Mississippi	8,150	0.838	2	Indiana	5.203
3	Indiana	14,527	0.745	3	Georgia	4.944
4	Delaware	4,009	0.731	4	Vermont	4.012
5	South Dakota	1,596	0.711	5	Maryland	3.517
6	South Carolina	18,489	0.685	6	Delaware	3.326
7	Ohio	36,497	0.664	7	Pennsylvania	3.158
8	Alabama	19,716	0.651	8	Tennessee	3.140
9	Georgia	30,235	0.614	9	Texas	3.036
10	Louisiana	26,631	0.582	10	Ohio	3.026
11	Oklahoma	17,270	0.558	11	Washington	2.879
12	Nevada	9,161	0.484	12	D.C.	2.871
13	Maryland	28,244	0.477	13	Michigan	2.856
14	Vermont	1,633	0.465	14	South Dakota	2.815
15	Kansas	12,983	0.453	15	Louisiana	2.592
16	Michigan	53,492	0.446	16	South Carolina	2.335
17	Tennessee	17,134	0.445	17	Minnesota	2.307
18	Wyoming	2,193	0.429	18	Alabama	2.231
19	Missouri	29,715	0.382	19	Mississippi	2.216
20	Arkansas	14,335	0.380	20	Kansas	2.208
21	Alaska	6,743	0.375	21	Oklahoma	2.182
22	Virginia	37,206	0.358	22	Missouri	2.074
23	North Carolina	48,777	0.354	23	New Hampshire	2.066
24	Massachusetts	18,268 ***	0.341	24	New Jersey	2.044
25	Pennsylvania	48,628	0.336	25	Nebraska	1.932
26	Hawaii	6,763	0.335	26	North Carolina	1.850
27	Kentucky	16,811	0.325	27	Rhode Island	1.812
28	Idaho	4,652	0.319	28	Hawaii	1.798
29	Arizona	37,365	0.293	29	Illinois	1.742
30	New Jersey	48,065	0.284	30	Arkansas	1.732
31	New Mexico	9,349	0.283	31	Connecticut	1.711
32	Texas	138,086	0.281	32	Florida	1.682
33	New York	146,861	0.278	33	Wyoming	1.603
34	New Hampshire	3,129	0.277	34	Idaho	1.483
35	Illinois	73,700	0.269	35	Oregon	1.468
36	Nebraska	7,885	0.265	36	Nevada	1.451
37	Rhode Island	5,597	0.258	37	New York	1.423
38	Florida	126,680	0.256	38	Iowa	1.417
39	Connecticut	30,174	0.249	39	California	1.416
40	Maine	5,369	0.247	40	Wisconsin	1.328
41	Oregon	22,512	0.244	41	Kentucky	1.231
42	California	288,822	0.232	42	Virginia	1.217
43	Washington	27,889	0.220	43	Maine	1.212
44	Iowa	14,333	0.200	44	Arizona	1.095
45	Wisconsin	31,553	0.190	45	North Dakota	1.034
46	West Virginia	7,741	0.189	46	West Virginia	1.018
47	North Dakota	2,361	0.182	47	New Mexico	0.993
48	Utah	10,692	0.178	48	Utah	0.933
49	Colorado	29,467	0.163	49	Colorado	0.839
50	Montana	7,563	0.157	50	Alaska	0.831
51	Minnesota	22,503	0.114	51	Montana	0.713
REGION				REGION		
SOUTH		567,384	0.390	SOUTH		2.409
MIDWEST		300,947	0.389	MIDWEST		2.304
NORTHEAST		307,464	0.289	NORTHEAST		2.128
WEST		463,111	0.241	WEST		1.412
TOTALS		1,639,106	0.323	TOTALS		2.055

* Includes index crime arrests.

** Juvenile arrests and juveniles in custody, which have been included in determining the Total Control Rate in Tables 2 and 3, are excluded from the Total Control/Arrest Ratio in Table 4. (Our 1988 report included the juvenile figures in determining the Total Control/Arrest Ratio.)

*** The Massachusetts adult arrests figure is that of 1986, as an accurate figure for 1987 is not available at this time.

Table 5: Per Capita Expenditures of State & Local Governments for Justice Activities

Rank	State	1987 Police Protection*	1987 Judicial-Legal**	1987 Corrections***	1987 Total Expenditures
1	D.C.	$372.56	$142.55	$383.10	$898.21
2	Alaska	211.45	151.22	173.56	536.23
3	New York	158.22	65.15	119.59	342.96
4	Nevada	134.88	67.30	119.74	321.92
5	California	144.91	60.06	108.67	313.64
6	Arizona	128.43	54.95	99.20	282.58
7	Maryland	113.20	44.59	98.36	256.15
8	New Jersey	124.63	53.12	72.75	250.50
9	Hawaii	101.63	69.24	78.54	249.41
10	Florida	123.59	46.52	74.41	244.52
11	Delaware	100.27	57.53	75.38	233.18
12	Michigan	106.25	47.80	77.34	231.39
13	Wyoming	123.11	50.50	56.31	229.92
14	Colorado	117.01	45.27	59.32	221.60
15	Massachusetts	106.04	47.13	59.35	212.52
16	New Mexico	95.26	39.69	69.62	204.57
17	Connecticut	106.18	42.69	49.65	198.52
18	Illinois	110.96	34.12	47.87	192.95
19	Washington	88.81	36.34	67.79	192.94
20	Oregon	95.02	41.59	54.22	190.83
21	Virginia	85.60	34.90	68.23	188.73
22	Ohio	87.04	37.47	63.38	187.89
23	Wisconsin	102.93	36.82	44.77	184.54
24	Rhode Island	95.62	41.83	44.53	181.98
25	Louisiana	93.61	34.98	51.05	179.64
26	Utah	82.25	31.12	60.08	173.45
27	Minnesota	83.29	40.00	47.38	170.67
28	Georgia	75.37	28.58	64.20	168.15
29	Texas	82.12	29.59	49.59	161.30
30	Pennsylvania	74.93	38.66	47.62	161.21
31	North Carolina	72.37	24.32	63.50	160.19
32	Missouri	81.14	27.50	46.63	155.27
33	New Hampshire	78.44	37.76	35.25	151.45
34	South Carolina	63.20	20.93	64.54	148.67
35	Kansas	73.87	33.99	40.30	148.16
36	Montana	69.58	37.48	37.20	144.26
37	Iowa	69.48	33.70	36.66	139.84
38	Tennessee	63.93	24.65	51.03	139.61
39	Alabama	64.05	29.56	40.92	134.53
40	Oklahoma	66.18	23.90	43.88	133.96
41	Idaho	71.72	27.96	32.30	131.98
42	Nebraska	65.96	27.74	38.04	131.74
43	Kentucky	59.15	30.33	40.07	129.55
44	Vermont	61.67	33.55	34.16	129.38
45	Maine	62.09	25.76	41.07	128.92
46	South Dakota	62.21	25.59	35.60	123.40
47	Indiana	57.69	23.49	39.19	120.37
48	North Dakota	53.29	33.47	23.51	110.27
49	Mississippi	54.16	17.78	29.33	101.27
50	Arkansas	51.28	18.35	29.22	98.85
51	West Virginia	43.12	24.20	21.20	88.52
REGION					
WEST		$127.11	$54.16	$92.25	$273.53
NORTHEAST		117.69	51.18	77.84	246.72
MIDWEST		89.82	35.62	52.50	177.94
SOUTH		84.66	32.42	59.76	176.85
TOTALS		$101.42	$41.52	$68.36	$211.29

All figures courtesy of U.S. Census Bureau.

* Police Protection: Preservation of law and order and traffic safety. Includes police patrols and communications, crime prevention activities, detention and custody of persons awaiting trial, traffic safety, and vehicular inspection.

** Judicial-Legal: Courts and activities associated with courts including law libraries, prosecutorial and defendant programs, probate functions, and juries.

*** Corrections: Confinement and correction of adults and minors convicted of offenses against the law, and pardon, probation, and parole activities.

$10 billion per year (see Exhibit A). In other words, for every dollar directly lost by the victims of crimes, we spend approximately five dollars to apprehend and punish offenders. If one factors in the costs of private security systems, the ratio of expenditures to victim losses is seven to one.

Once again, Washington, D.C., is the nation's leader, spending about $900 per capita for justice activities compared to the lowest ranking state, West Virginia, which only spends about $90 per person. The Western states have the most expensive justice systems to operate while the South and Midwest regions are much more moderate in their expenditures. These regional differences are consistent in the categories of police, judicial, and correctional system expenditures. The most expensive component of the justice system are police services which comprise nearly 50 percent of all government expenditures.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Several important findings emerge from this analysis. First, in many states and regions of the country, very large numbers of people are under some form of correctional supervision and control, much larger than the simple number of people in prison would indicate. In some states, between two and three percent of the population is under some form of criminal justice control and those numbers are rising.

Secondly, the extent to which control is exercised varies considerably among the states, as does the form that control takes. These differences clearly reflect variances in how state officials allocate public resources and adopt unique sentencing and correctional policies even when arrest and crime levels are controlled for.

Commonly-held views of the level of punishment in different states based on rates of imprisonment will change significantly when different measures of social control and punishment are used and if crime rates are included in the analysis. Measurement problems associated with UCR suggest caution be used in making state comparisons based on these crime data. Nevertheless, these measures certainly raise the possibility that jurisdictions traditionally thought of as "conservative" or "liberal" in their use of imprisonment may be

misclassified. Alternatively, unadjusted per capita rates, which do not take into account differences in crime levels and arrests, reflect the extent of control and imprisonment occurring in each state. That by itself is the most telling measure of how each state chooses to use its limited public resources to control crime and punish offenders.

Finally, one should be concerned with these contemporary trends of increasing use of and expenditures for criminal justice services. The nation's population is increasingly being placed under the control of these agencies in our frantic efforts to control crime. Yet the crime rate is again on the rise.

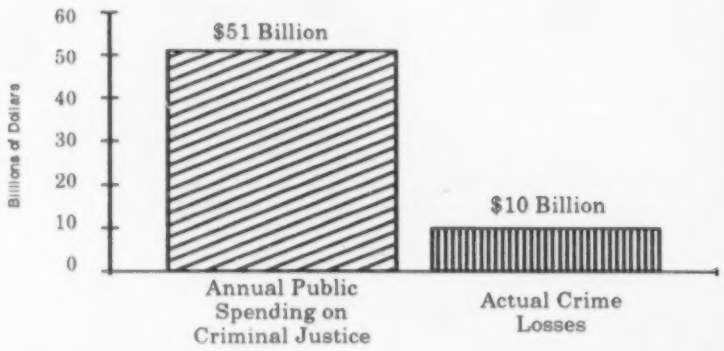
Given the current national debate on how best to combat crime, a simple analysis was made to determine the relationship between criminal justice expenditures and crime rates. The results showed a very strong correlation between a state's rate of expenditures and reported crimes. States that spend the most on law enforcement, the courts, prisons, jails, probation and parole also have the highest levels of reported crimes.

Ten years ago, the per capita expenditures were $95. When controlled for inflation, that figure increases to $157 in 1987 dollars, or a 34 percent increase. During that same period, the nation's crime rate increased by nearly 10 percent.

This is not to say that spending more money on these systems of formal control causes crime to increase. But certainly the strong possiblity is raised that simply throwing more money at the problem will not solve a state's crime problem.

If our objective as a nation is to lower crime rates and produce safer communities, these data argue for a re-examination of a strategy which relies largely on an increasingly expensive and expansive system of punishment and control.

Exhibit A: Criminal Justice Spending



FOOTNOTES

1 This is the second year NCCD has produced "Ranking the Nation's Most Punitive States." In this issue, we've attempted to refine the consistency of the data by using 1987 figures in all cases where available. However, some variance is unavoidable since federal reporting systems are not always reported on an annual basis or in a timely fashion. For example, the jail data used in our report last year was from the 1983 Bureau of Justice Statistics Jail Census. Rather than use dated figures, NCCD researched updated 1987 figures through published reports and phone calls to individual states.

2 U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, "Prisoners in 1988," April 1989.

3 Even these populations, unfortunately, exclude three other relevant populations: juveniles imprisoned in private facilities, placed on probation or on parole. And, they may also ignore the estimated 13,000 police lock-up cells used for 48-hour detention which are not fully accounted for in the national jail census.

4 The total control rate reported here under counts the number of people under the supervision of criminal justice agencies because it excludes juveniles on probation for which national data are not available.

5 It is important to note that Massachusetts changed its reporting practices in 1986 for probationers, which partially explains its number six rating. Massachusetts now includes in its report more than 60,000 people who make up the administrative supervision caseload of the probation department.

6 U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Report to the Nation on Crime and Justice, 2nd ed. (Washington D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, 1988), p. 114.

7 The zero order correlation between rate of crime and expenditures is .558. When extreme outlying jurisdictions (D.C. and Alaska) are excluded, the coefficient increases to .628. As expected, there are also similar coefficients for the relationships of imprisonment, incarceration, and total control with crime rates.

SOURCES

Table 1: 1987 Population: Crime in the United States, 1987 (Washington, D.C.: FBI, 1988), pp. 44-50.

1987 Prisoners: Bulletin, "Prisoners in 1987" (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1988), p. 2.

1987 Juveniles in Custody: Bulletin, "Children in Custody" (Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1988), p. 6.

1987 Persons in Jail: published reports and phone interviews.

Table 2: 1987 Adults on Probation: Bulletin, "Probation and Parole 1987" (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1988), p. 2.

1987 Adults on Parole: Same, p. 3.

Table 3: Total Index Crimes: Crime in the United States, 1987 (Washington, D.C.: FBI, 1988), pp. 44-50.

Table 4: 1987 Adult Arrests: Crime in the United States, 1987 (Washington, D.C.: FBI, 1988), pp. 221-224. (Adult Arrests figure was derived by subtracting "Under 18 Arrests" from "Total All Ages.")

Table 5: Data courtesy of U.S. Census Bureau.

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This publication is supported by a generous grant from the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation.

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SEPTEMBER 1989

Juvenile Corrections In Wisconsin: Is There A Better Way?

BY CHRISTOPHER BAIRD AND DEBORAH NEUENFELDT

In collaboration with John R. Grace, Executive Director, Wisconsin Association of Family and Children's Agencies and James M. Sampson, Executive Director, St. Charles Youth and Family Services

HIGHLIGHTS

Growing disillusionment with traditional approaches to dealing with serious juvenile crime has led to a dichotomy of approaches throughout the country. Many states have enacted "get tough" legislation placing more juveniles in state training schools for longer periods of time. This approach has resulted in rising costs, overcrowding, and inadequate services and protection of juvenile inmates, with little impact on juvenile crime rates.

Other states have taken a different approach. These states, most notably Massachusetts and Utah, have dramatically reduced the number of secure commitments without further endangering the public or increasing rates of delinquency. They have accomplished this by developing a system of small secure facilities, coupled with a panoply of community-based programs offering various degrees of structure and services.

Could this community-based approach work in Wisconsin? To answer that question, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) conducted a study to determine if there is a significant proportion of the Wisconsin juvenile institutional population that could be safely and effectively supervised in community-based programs. Information collected on a random sample of juveniles admitted to Wisconsin's two training schools showed that 68 percent of the juveniles were incarcerated for non-assaultive offenses, and 59 percent of the juveniles had no history of violent offenses.

In a few states, objective classification systems are used to determine which youths require secure placement (the most serious and chronic offenders), which are appropriate for community placement (property offenders with limited histories of delinquency), and which are in between the community and highest security levels. For this in-between group, short-term secure placement is often used, followed by community placement. NCCD used a similar classification scale to classify each juvenile in the Wisconsin study.

The results are startling. Using the NCCD classification scale:

- only 27 percent of the incarcerated juveniles would require such secure placement;
- 26 percent would be appropriate for community placement; and
- 47 percent would be appropriate for short-term care, followed by community care.

The findings also indicate that there is disparity among counties in the types of youth sent to state facilities. While youths from some counties stay in the community, similar youths from other counties go to state corrections institutions.

Could Wisconsin benefit from a greater emphasis on community-based programs, reserving secure confinement for only the most serious and chronic offenders? Except for racial makeup, the correctional populations of Wisconsin, Utah, and Massachusetts are reasonably similar (see Table 1). Black youths in Wisconsin represent nearly three times the proportion of youth service commitments as in Massachusetts, although they comprise about the same percentage of total youth population (6 percent) of both states. Adoption of the Massachusetts/Utah approach in Wisconsin, however, hinges principally on a single question: Is there a significant proportion of the current institutional population in Wisconsin that could be safely and effectively supervised in community-based programs?

Factors to be considered in the adoption of a similar objective classification system for Wisconsin include institutional bed space needs, community

Table 1: Comparisons of Youth Committed to Youth Services in Wisconsin, Utah, and Massachusetts

	Wisconsin (1986 Admissions) N=370	Utah (1983-1984 Admissions) N=252	Massachusetts (1984-1985 Admissions) N=819
Sex*			
Male	90.8	95.6	86.5
Female	9.2	4.4	13.6
Race/Ethnicity*			
White	41.4	70.3	72.7
Black	44.3	0.0	16.5
Hispanic	6.2	19.9	9.2
Other	8.4	9.8	1.6
Average Age at Commitment	15.8	16.0	15.5
Average Number of Prior Adjudications	3.5	6.3	2.5
Most Serious Charge			
Part 1 Violent**	16.2	20.7	13.3
Part 1 Property	47.0	47.8	47.5
Part 2 Offenses	36.8	31.1	39.0
Status	0.0	0.4	0.2

* Figures expressed in percentages

** All of the states list other offenses that are considered violent or assaultive. Part 1 Violent includes Murder (all degrees), Rape, Robbery, and Aggravated Assault. In total, 31.9% of Wisconsin admissions were for assaultive offenses.

programming needs and public safety issues. NCCD's analysis shows that with this approach one of the two state training schools could be closed. Community programming would need to be expanded; however, savings from the closing of a training school could be diverted to these new programs. Finally, research in Massachusetts and Utah indicates that the imposition of appropriate community-based controls on serious and chronic juvenile offenders does not compromise public protection.

EXPANDED USE OF COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAMS IN WISCONSIN

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency collected data on a randomly selected 50 percent sample (N = 370) of 1986 admissions to Wisconsin's two juvenile secure correctional facilities: Ethan Allan School and Lincoln Hills School. The 62 data elements compiled on each juvenile included information on sex, race, disabilities, prior delinquent behavior, criminal offenses, education, vocational training, employment, family relationships, drug and alcohol use, prior out-of-home placements, emotional stability, and runaway history.

In several states that have reduced their juvenile corrections populations, objective classification systems have identified three groups of adjudicated juveniles: 1) youths adjudicated for serious violent offenses or those with chronic delinquency histories, who would require secure placement; 2) youths adjudicated for property offenses, with limited histories of delinquency, who are appropriate for community placement; and 3) youths who fall in between the community and highest security levels. For this in-between group, a period of short-term secure placement is often used, for further assessment purposes or to serve as "just desserts" intervention, to be followed by a community placement or program.

After analyzing all data collected, a structured classification scale (Figure 1) was devised which closely approximated scales used in Colorado, Delaware, Oregon, and other jurisdictions. This scale simply combines measures of offense severity and chronicity with other risk factors, including prior involvement in correctional programs, to assess current custody requirements. The scale was then used to classify each juvenile in the Wisconsin sample.

It should be noted that this scale was not designed to be used as the final screening instrument, but rather to determine if a proportion of the Wisconsin juvenile institutional population could be safely and effectively supervised in community-based programs. Further refinement of such an instrument may be warranted prior to use as a screening device. Different criteria and different weights could be developed, based on further analysis. The value of this approach is its objectivity and consistency in decision making. This is especially important since data presented in the next section of this report indicate that disparity abounds in the current system.

PROFILE AND RESULTS

Table 2 presents the profile of the sample using the classification scale categories. As Table 2 indicates, over

Table 2: Prior History of Juveniles in Sample

Severity of Current Offense	
Murder, Rape, Kidnapping	3.8%
Other Offense Involving Force or Use of a Weapon	21.1%
Non-Assaultive Offenses	68.1%
Severity of Prior Offenses	
Use of Force, Use of a Weapon	20.3%
Non-Assaultive Offenses Only	79.7%
Number of Prior Out-Of-Home Placements	
Two or fewer	56.5%
Three or more	43.5%
Prior Correctional Placements (DOC)	
None	83.0%
One or more	17.0%
Age at First Delinquent Adjudication	
14 or under	45.4%
15 or over	54.6%
History of Mental Health Outpatient or Alcohol or Other Drug Abuse Care	
Yes	69.2%
No	30.8%
Number of Prior Runaways	
Three or more	55.9%
Two or fewer	44.1%

Figure 1: NCCD Juvenile Classification Scale

		score
1. Severity of Current Offense		
Murder, Rape, Kidnapping	10	____
Other Offenses Involving Use of a Weapon, Use of Force	5	____
2. Most Serious Prior Adjudication		
Any Offense Involving Use of a Weapon or Use of Force	5	____
No Priors or Property Only	0	____
3. Number of Prior Out of Home Placements		
Three or More	5	____
Two or Less	0	____
TOTAL ITEMS 1-3		____

Total Items 1-3. If score is 10 or higher, secure placement is recommended. If less than 10, score the remaining items.

4. Prior Placement in a Juvenile Correctional Institution		
Yes	2	____
No	0	____
5. Age at First Delinquent Adjudication		
14 or Under	2	____
15 or Over	0	____
6. History of Mental Health Outpatient or Alcohol or Other Drug Abuse Care		
Yes	1	____
No	0	____
7. Prior Runaways		
Three or More	1	____
Two or Fewer	0	____
TOTAL ITEMS 1-7		____

Recommendations:

10 or above:	Secure Placement
5 - 9:	Short-Term Secure Care
0 - 4:	Community Placement

It should be noted that this scale was not designed to be used as the final screening instrument, but rather to determine if a proportion of the Wisconsin Juvenile Institutional Population could be safely and effectively supervised in community-based programs. Further refinement of such an instrument may be warranted prior to use as a screening device.

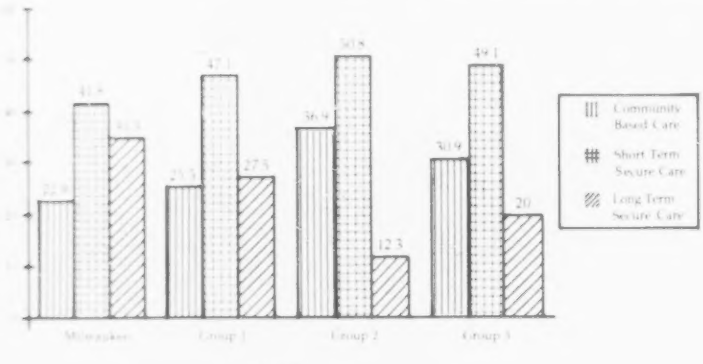
two-thirds (69 percent) of the juveniles had a history of mental health outpatient or alcohol or other drug abuse (AODA) care, and 56 percent had three or more runaways. However, for 83 percent of the juveniles, this was their first correctional placement.

The most striking statistic that emerges from this analysis is that 68 percent of the juveniles were incarcerated for non-assaultive offenses. It should be noted that the definition of assaultive offense used in this analysis included any assault or any use of a weapon. The definition of assaultive offenses is, therefore, broader than that used by the National Uniform Crime Reports. Nearly 80 percent of the sample had no prior offenses classified as assaultive. When considering both the current offense and prior record, 59 percent of the juveniles in the study had no record of violence in their history.

While facts specific to each case may alter these figures to some degree, it seems evident that, like all other states analyzed to date, Wisconsin could significantly reduce its institutional populations if sufficient community-based resources are made available to deal with delinquents currently housed in state facilities. (Actual cases and recommended strategies for dealing with each are presented in Cases A and B .)

The classification groups are further broken down by race and county of residence, as shown in Figures 2 and 3. Nearly half of the juveniles in the sample were from Milwaukee County. Milwaukee County had the highest percentage of juveniles meeting the criteria for secure care (35 percent). In Group

Figure 2: Classification by County



2 counties, (the smaller urbanized counties) only 12 percent of incarcerated juveniles met the high-risk criteria; 37 percent of their juveniles fell into the low-risk category. Generally, black youths had higher classification scores than whites and other minorities; the majority of the black juveniles were from Milwaukee County.

These findings indicate that there is considerable disparity among counties in the types of youths sent to state facilities. Youths in state facilities from Milwaukee County are, in general, more serious offenders. In essence, while youths from some counties are retained in the community, youths with similar backgrounds and offense histories from other counties go to state correctional institutions. The Department of Health and Social Services' Juvenile Offender Review Panel (JORP) conducts an initial review within 30 days of admission to review the need to stay in the institution. While JORP remedies some of these inconsistencies, disparity still abounds.

IMPLICATIONS

The implications of adopting an objective classification process for determining placement needs of youth committed to Wisconsin Division of Corrections should be considered.

Institutional Bed Space. First, the impact on institutional bed space must be assessed. Using the profile data from this study, the classification system presented in Figure 1, and the length of stay assumptions presented in footnote 11, approximately 280 secure beds are needed. This represents less than 50 percent of the number currently in use. With a rated bed capacity of 313 at Ethan Allen and 265 at Lincoln Hills,[1] this would indicate that one of the two schools could be closed, with savings directed to new community-based programs. Looking at the breakout by region of residence of the juveniles sent to DOC, it would appear that Lincoln Hills may be the likely candidate for closure. If so, Ethan Allan's capacity could be reduced as well, with the addition of a few small secure facilities (10 to 20 beds) in other regions of the state.[2]

Need for Community Programs. At the present time, those youths in Wisconsin who are committed to the state correctional system have only one placement alternative: placement in a secure training school. The training school curriculum is not designed for short-term placements. There is no short-term secure care facility in Wisconsin. Community-based programs for delinquent youths are operated by individual counties and generally are not designed for the serious, chronic offender.

A study conducted by NCCD of the Utah Second District Juvenile Court[3] found evidence that short periods of confinement were as effective as long periods of confinement in controlling the behavior of juveniles, and that serious or chronic offenders can be placed in the community under a well-structured program and be expected to sharply reduce their level of offending. If Wisconsin is to reduce its training school population, alternative programs must be developed.

A needs assessment of Wisconsin DOC youth should be conducted in order to develop specific program recommendations. The experience of other states, and the assessment of the case histories presented above indicate that the following types of alternatives should be considered:

- Small, short-term secure care facilities.
- "Timeout" programs, which provide up to five days secure backup to the community programs. In Oregon, these backup programs, which provide immediate consequences for negative behavior and assist in stabilizing out-of-control behavior, have been extremely successful.[4]
- Increased community-based mental health services for delinquent youth. The high percentage of youths in the Wisconsin sample with a history of mental health or alcohol or drug abuse problems indicates a need for this. Other states have found that many youths were placed in secure correctional facilities because of a lack of mental health services.[5]
- Increased drug and alcohol outpatient services. In Utah, this consists of non-residential assessment and outpatient

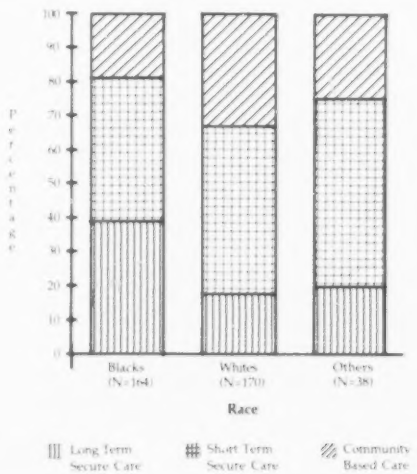
counseling for both individuals and groups, and includes tracking and daily contact.[6]

- Services which are culturally sensitive to the needs of minority youths. The over-representation of minority youths in Wisconsin training schools indicates that existing programs are not doing the job.
- Family treatment. This service involves contracts with highly skilled family therapists whose emphasis is on strengthening and preserving the family unit, with specific services developed depending on the needs of each family.
- Tracking or intensive supervision programs. In Massachusetts, this program provides daily contact and surveillance for youths residing in the community by a staff member whose caseload does not exceed six clients.[7]
- Proctor advocate. One youth resides in a single adult home and has a professional staff member assigned to work exclusively with him or her. This model has been used extensively in Utah for dealing with seriously delinquent female juveniles.[8]
- Day treatment programs. These are time-limited, non-residential educational and treatment programs developed around special needs such as drug and alcohol abuse, alternative education, and career development.
- Expanded vocational and employment training and services. Studies have shown that youth who are unemployed have a greater chance of re-arrest.[9]

Public Safety Issues. In any discussion concerning the issue of reducing the use of secure care, the question of whether the public can be adequately protected must be addressed. The results in Massachusetts and Utah would indicate that the answer to that question is "yes."

A Massachusetts study of violent offenders,[10] which compared youths whose services consisted of secure care followed by non-secure residential treatment and then intensive supervision with a control group of youths who were placed in long-term secure care, found that 79 percent of the project participants obtained unsubsidized employment, as compared to 29 percent of the control group. Further, 75 percent of project youths continued in an educational program after being released from the secure setting, compared to 46 percent of the control group. Finally, a preliminary review of comparative recidivism rates indicated that only one-third of project participants had been re-arrested for subsequent delinquent activity, a far smaller percentage than is reported by juvenile systems nationwide.

Figure 3: Classification by Race



A more recent and comprehensive study found that 36-month return rates in Massachusetts were lower than those of other states using more traditional approaches. Another index of the success in Massachusetts is that in 1972, 35 percent of the persons committed to the State's Department of Correction had previous Department of Youth Services experience; by 1985 this figure had dropped to 15 percent.

In the Utah study,[11] NCCD utilized another measure to estimate effectiveness. This measure, the suppression effect, focused not on the absolute cessation of delinquency, but rather on the reduction in the frequency of delinquent behavior. The results of the suppression analysis on arrests and offenses indicated that the Youth Corrections offenders showed a 63 to 70 percent reduction in their rate of arrest across all programs (63 percent for the community corrections group, 68.5 percent for the secure detention group, and 69.8 percent for the short-term placement followed by community placement group). In essence, the community-based programs were about as effective as more intrusive and expensive strategies.

A review of charges filed for the entire group is even more impressive. The Youth Corrections offenders were charged with 3,215 offenses in the year prior to their court adjudication as compared to 884 offenses in the post-adjudication period. These data strongly indicate that the imposition of appropriate community-based controls on highly active serious and chronic juvenile offenders did not compromise public protection.

SUMMARY

While results of this study need to be carefully reviewed before policy recommendations are finalized, it does appear that: 1) Wisconsin's juvenile corrections population is similar to those of states making far greater use of community-based programs; and 2) adoption of an objective classification scheme could enhance consistency in decision-making and identify many youths who could be safely and effec-

tively handled in the community. Further, while community-based options would require enhancements, using community-based care for more juveniles should prove to be less expensive than the current system. Wisconsin is in a position to pursue innovative policies successfully pioneered by Massachusetts and Utah, which are now being implemented by other states reflecting a variety of political and cultural backgrounds and ideologies, including conservative law and order states like Maryland, Louisiana, and Colorado.

These states have shown that greater equity can be provided in the process of deciding which juveniles are incarcerated, and that community-based programs can be as effective as incarceration in reducing the rate of recidivism, while providing a more humane experience at less cost. Given Wisconsin's progressive tradition and the failure of its current policies, as evidenced by the inordinately high proportion of blacks incarcerated in Wisconsin training schools, the time may be right for a change in direction in the juvenile justice system in Wisconsin.

FOOTNOTES

1 Hinz, Daryl (1987). *Adult and Juvenile Corrections Programs: State of Wisconsin*. Legislative Fiscal Bureau: Madison, Wisconsin.

2 The following assumptions were used to calculate the secure bed needs. Obviously, a different set of assumptions will yield different results. Assumptions are based on current state law, department policy, and availability of short-term programming similar to those used in Utah and other states.

Assumptions

1. 750 admissions per year
2. Average length of institutional stay in juvenile facilities breaks down as follows:
   - Youths adjudicated for murder, rape, kidnapping* 24 months
   - Other youths recommended for secure placement 10 months
   - Short-term secure care 3 months (This corresponds to short-term recommendations in Utah and other states. Depending on policies developed, placement may or may not be in state facilities.)

Calculations

a. 750 x .02**
= 15 x 24 mos. divided by 12 mos.
= 30 beds

b. 750 x .25**
= 188 x 10 mos. divided by 12 mos.
= 156 beds

c. 750 x .50**
= 375 x 3 mos. divided by 12 mos.
= 94 beds

TOTAL 280 beds

* Assumes that those subject to extended jurisdiction will be transferred to a state prison at age 18.

** About 2 percent of the study sample was admitted for murder, rape, or kidnapping. Removing this 2 percent from the 26.8 percent recommended for secure care leaves approximately 25 percent. The 47.3 percent recommended for short-term care was rounded up to 50 percent to avoid underestimating short-term care needs.

3 National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) (1987). *The Impact of Juvenile Court Intervention*. San Francisco, California.

4 Bakal, Yitzhak and Krisberg, Barry (1987) *Placement Needs Assessment for Youth Committed to Oregon Training Schools*. National Council on Crime and Delinquency: San Francisco, California.

5 Ibid, and, DeMuro, Paul and Krisberg, Barry (1987). *Adjudicated Youth in Delaware Who Need Secure Care*. National Council on Crime and Delinquency: San Francisco, California.

6 Schwartz, Ira (1987). *Reinvesting Youth Corrections Resources: A Tale of Three States*. Hubert Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs: Minneapolis, Minnesota.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 NCCD, 1987, and Genevie, Louis, Margolies, Eva and Mahlin, Gregory (1983). *Trends in the Effectiveness of Correctional Intervention*. National Institute of Justice.

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Funding for this study was supplied by the Annie E. Casey Foundation through the Center for Youth Policy, the University of Michigan, School of Social Work.

CASE A

AA is a 14-year-old male who was adjudicated delinquent based on his involvement in an incident in which his 22-year-old brother fired 10-15 shots into a crowd at a school playground. AA brought the gun to the playground and gave it to his brother. His offense and prior involvement in the legal system earned him a score of 7 on the NCCD Classification Scale and a recommendation for short-term secure care followed by community placement.

AA is a boy of very limited intellectual ability with a history of conflicts with peers. Clinical data indicate that AA is insecure and vulnerable to the coercion of more dominant peers. He appears to be chronically frustrated by his poor school performance and problems with peers.

AA spent approximately 13 months at Ethan Allen School before release to a residential treatment center.

Suggested Intervention.

AA has no history of out-of-home placement. In light of his intellectual limitations and a probable lack of ability to draw insight from conventional therapeutic interventions, it would be recommended that AA be placed in a short-term secure placement. Such an arrangement would demonstrate to AA the seriousness of his offense. During this placement, a thorough assessment should determine AA's abilities and needs. Clearly, emphasis should be placed on peer relationships and coping strategies to deal with his frustrations around his limitations.

After a short-term secure placement, AA will require focused interventions to reinforce learned coping skills. He will need to be part of a school program where he can develop a marketable vocational skill to offer him hope for his future despite his academic limitations. A strong day treatment program would provide structure and direction to his life. The combination of intensive social skills training and an academic program focused on recognizing his limitations but fostering his strengths seems best suited to meet his needs. Without the continued experience of having to live in the "real world" AA stands a strong chance of becoming "institutionalized" - dependent on the structure and safety of an artificial environment. His special needs create an even stronger case for having him return to the community to test and adapt his skills.

CASE B

BB is a 17-year-old male charged with battery resulting from an incident in which he threatened and assaulted a teacher. The combination of offense severity and prior history result in a score of 14 on the NCCD Juvenile Classification Scale.

BB's intellectual level is described as somewhat below average. A personality assessment indicates that he is substantially undersocialized. He presents himself as someone devoid of social skills and lacking in awareness of socially appropriate behavior. His record includes a long history of behavioral problems, high activity level, difficulty in getting along with peers and siblings, difficulties in school, and problems with impulse control including sexual interaction with children of both sexes.

BB has several years history of mental health outpatient care. A referral to residential treatment was refused by his mother. Little positive change in BB's behavior has resulted from years of counseling and special educational programming.

BB's mother is a single parent. She reportedly has a drug and alcohol problem and is seldom home to supervise her children. She has been involved in hostile relationships with men from whom she has received numerous injuries requiring medical attention.

BB was living in a foster home at the time of his offense. This was his third out-of-home placement. His history also includes three runaway incidents.

BB spent 10 months at Ethan Allen School before being discharged at age 18.

Suggested Intervention.

BB is a youth with limited alternatives. His classification score indicates the need for a secure correctional placement. This comes after extensive assistance provided by school and social service agencies. Clearly, BB's home environment is not a viable resource due to the abuse and chaos that exists there.

Given BB's age of 17, it would be necessary and appropriate that the corrections placement focus on preparing him to function as a responsible adult. A confrontive stance should be taken to address BB's social attitudes toward both peers and authority figures. A vocational-technical training program should help BB develop a productive marketable skill. Counseling should assist with impulse control. In essence, a corrections placement with intensive programming constitutes this youngster's last chance at an intensive, therapeutic intervention before his behavior gets him into trouble as an adult.

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This publication is supported by a generous grant from the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation.

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DECEMBER 1989

The 1989 NCCD Prison Population Forecast:
The Impact of the War on Drugs

BY JAMES AUSTIN AND AARON DAVID MCVEY

HIGHLIGHTS

In April 1988, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency issued its first national prison population forecast, based on the prison population projections of nine states. At that time, we estimated these states would expand their prison populations by 21 percent in five years.

In this second edition, the prison population projections for 12 states are even more dramatic. These projections make it clear that the nation's use of imprisonment will continue to escalate unless the states alter their policies. In particular the current War on Drugs will overwhelm the nation's correctional systems over the next five years.

For example:

- Under existing policies, the states will increase their prison populations by over 68 percent by 1994, an annual average growth rate of about 13 percent per year. This rate of growth is twice that projected by NCCD in its 1988 forecast.
- The projected 68 percent inmate population increase translates into an additional 460,000 inmates by 1994 for a total of 1,133,000 prison inmates. With average operating costs of $25,000 per inmate per year and a construction cost of $50,000 per cell, states will require at least an additional $35 billion to build and operate their prisons over the next five years.
- By 1994, the current incarceration rate of 250 per 100,000 population will increase to 440 per 100,000.
- By 1991 California will become the first state to exceed 100,000 inmates; by 1994 it will have over 136,000 inmates. It will cost an estimated $4 billion annually to operate California's prison system by 1994.
- Florida's prison population will grow faster than any other state, reaching over 100,000 inmates by 1994.
- The primary reason for the dramatic increase in prison populations is the War on Drugs, which is not only increasing the number of prison admissions but is also increasing the rate of parole violations.
- The already disproportionate rate of Blacks and Hispanics being sent to prison will increase considerably principally due to the War on Drugs.
- Despite the increased use of incarceration, especially for Blacks, Hispanics, and drug offenders, there has been no positive impact on crime rates. In fact crime rates have increased by nearly 13 percent since 1984.
- As states are faced with ever increasing prison admissions, longer prison sentences, and limited prison capacity, new methods for and massive use of good-time credits to shorten prison sentences will occur.

INTRODUCTION

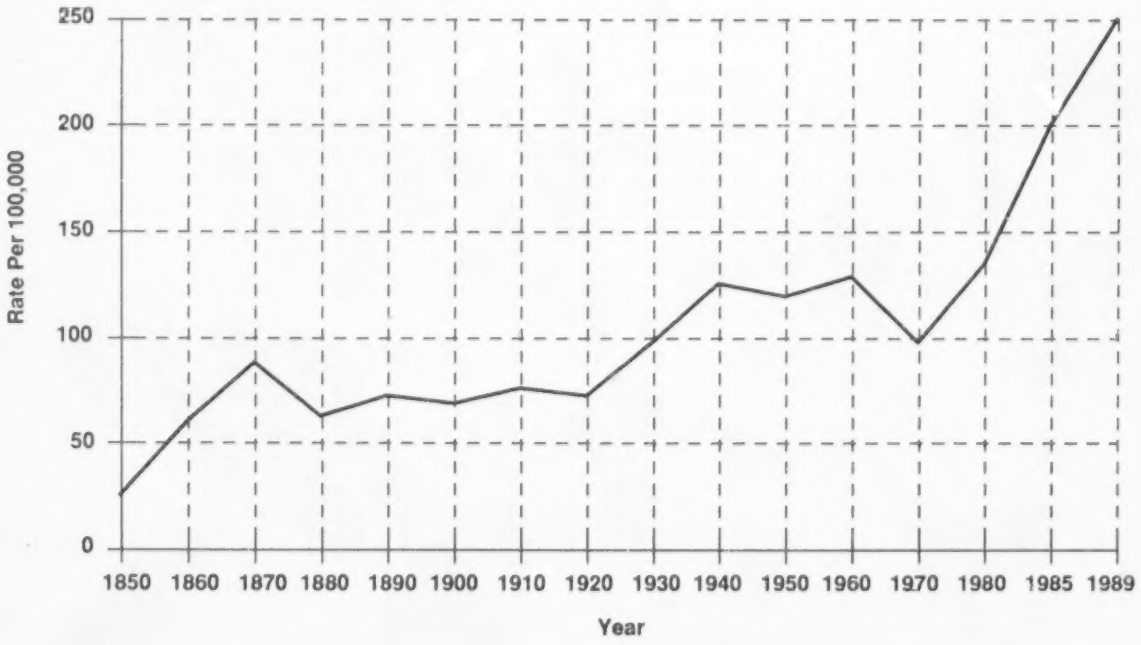
The 1988 forecast was viewed as conservative since many states were continuing to experience major changes in their law enforcement, sentencing, correctional and parole board policies. Collectively, all of these anticipated political activities were designed to increase the probabilities of arrest, conviction, imprisonment, longer periods of imprisonment and failure on parole.

As anticipated, the 1988 forecast has proven to be conservative. Consider the following national statistics:

1. In just 18 months (from December 1987 to June 1989) the nation's prison population grew by 15.3 percent. In the first six months of 1989 the nation's prison population grew by over 7 percent—an all time historic increase.[1]

2. There are now 673,565 inmates in the nation's state prisons. This figure excludes the estimated 365,000 men

Exhibit A: U.S. Prison Incarceration Rates 1850–1989



women and children in jails and juvenile facilities.[2]

3. The nation's imprisonment rate reached 250 prisoners per 100,000 in 1989—nearly nine times higher than the 29 per 100,000 rate recorded in 1850 (see Exhibit A).[3]

It appears that the phenomenal growth of prison populations during the 1980s will be followed by even greater increases over the next five years, which will threaten to completely overwhelm the nation's prison systems. In this report, we review the factors that drive these numbers and offer some likely consequences of this unparalleled rate of growth.

THE NCCD FORECASTING STATES

Since 1982, NCCD has been actively assisting states with projecting prison populations. The specific mathematical model developed by NCCD is a stochastic entity policy simulation model which has been successfully utilized in other engineering and business applications.

This type of model differs significantly from other time-series models or other simulation models which rely upon estimates of such key factors as lengths of imprisonment. The NCCD model directly mimics those factors that determine an inmate's length of stay including the amount of good-time awarded, revoked and restored, chances of being paroled at first and subsequent parole hearings, wait-times between hearings, and parole revocations. More significantly, it also allows one to directly model the implementation of new sentencing trends routinely introduced by legislatures, as well as changes in correctional policies.

This policy simulation model has proven to be useful to states since prison population growth is largely a function of changing policies. The recent historic growth in the nation's prison population cannot be adequately explained by crime rates (which have remained largely unchanged) or growth in the general population which have not kept pace with prison population increases. Instead, growth in prison populations can best be explained by the unrelenting passage of laws designed to sentence more offenders to prison and for longer periods of time. Within this context, a policy simulation model simply reflects the consequences of such dramatic policy shifts. And, since policy is in a constant state of flux, prison populations exhibit erratic growth patterns.

Twelve states now use NCCD's projection methodology, which is three more than in the 1988 national forecast (see Table 1). These 12 states represent a diverse mix of geographic regions, demographic populations, and criminal justice sentencing structures (indeterminate and determinate sentencing with and without parole). More significantly they collectively represent 40.5 percent of the 1989 national prison population. It also appears that the prison populations of these states are growing at a slightly higher rate than for the nation as a whole. Between December 1987 and June 1989 the nation's prison population grew by 15.3 percent whereas the NCCD model states grew by 20 percent. Those states with the largest prison populations also have the fastest growing prison populations (California, Michigan, Florida, Ohio and Virginia).

Since these 12 states now employ a standardized methodology and cover such a large proportion of the nation's entire prison population, they can serve as bellwether states in indicating how current criminal justice trends will impact future prison population growth. As noted above, these projections reflect the consequences of current criminal justice policies and assume that such policies will continue unabated. However, in all these states new criminal justice policies continue to be introduced, debated and passed which impact the projections presented here. As new policies are implemented projections will be adjusted to accommodate them.

Table 1: Prison Population Increases For NCCD Projection States 1987 to 1989

State	December 1987	December 1988	June 1989	% Increase
California	66,975	76,171	82,872	23.7%
Florida	32,466	35,390	38,059	17.2%
Illinois	19,850	21,081	22,576	13.7%
Louisiana	15,375	16,149	16,565	7.7%
Massachusetts	6,335	6,838	7,261	14.6%
Michigan	21,930	25,377	30,036	37.0%
Nevada	4,371	4,902	5,238	19.8%
Ohio	23,943	25,861	28,332	18.3%
Oklahoma	9,639	10,448	11,273	17.0%
Oregon	4,309	4,860	5,400	25.3%
Tennessee	8,862	9,709	9,774	10.3%
Virginia	12,896	14,203	15,133	17.3%
Total	226,951	250,989	272,519	20.0%
U.S. Total	584,435	627,402	673,565	15.3%
% of U.S. Total	38.8%	40.0%	40.5%	

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics
U.S. Department of Justice
September 10, 1989

PROJECTED PRISON POPULATIONS

By 1994 the 12 states for which NCCD conducts prison population projections will increase their prison populations by more than 68 percent, an annual average growth rate of about 13 percent per year (Table 2). This rate of growth is more than twice that projected by NCCD in its 1988 forecast.

California will continue to lead the nation in sheer population growth. Currently it has a population of 82,855 and a design bed capacity of only 49,000. By 1991 it will become the first state to exceed the 100,000 population figure and by 1994 it will have over 136,000 inmates. Operating costs for California's system are expected to reach $4 billion by 1994. Furthermore, an additional $3.5 billion in construction funds will be needed to simply remain at 130 percent of its current design capacity.[4] It will clearly retain its position as the world's largest and most crowded prison system.

Nevada, which has always ranked near the top in its rate of incarceration (currently 475 inmates per 100,000 population or nearly twice the national incarceration rate of 242 per 100,000), will continue its number one rating by nearly doubling its existing 5,249 inmate population. This rate of growth will easily outstrip the estimated 30 percent growth of the state population during the same time period.

There are only two states which show a relatively moderate rate of increase—Louisiana and Tennessee. In these cases the lower growth rate is somewhat misleading in that it is directly attributable to recent and on-going litigation which has placed strict capacity limits on the size of the states' prison populations.

Table 2: Five Year Projected Prison Populations June 1989 - June 1994

State	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	% Change
California	82,855	94,995	107,250	117,775	127,725	136,640	64.9%
Florida	39,085	68,436	80,469	88,977	95,371	100,855	158.0%
Illinois	22,894	26,079	28,623	30,552	32,559	34,373	50.1%
Louisiana	16,324	16,700	17,084	17,477	17,878	18,290	12.0%
Massachusetts	7,738	8,491	8,948	9,411	9,678	10,065	30.1%
Michigan*	27,619	31,773	35,146	38,519	41,892	45,265	63.9%
Nevada	5,249	5,909	6,906	7,734	8,686	9,500	81.0%
Ohio	28,332	32,051	35,005	38,096	41,048	42,852	51.2%
Oklahoma	11,274	12,003	12,843	13,874	14,846	15,823	40.3%
Oregon	5,355	5,906	6,466	7,192	7,903	8,748	63.4%
Tennessee	9,774	10,083	10,239	10,125	10,049	10,088	3.2%
Virginia	15,288	17,033	18,853	20,981	23,046	25,120	64.3%
Total	271,787	329,459	367,832	400,713	430,681	457,619	68.4%

*Projected prison populations for 1992 - 1994 are extrapolated estimates and are not official figures.

One common method used to control population growth for these two states (and others) is to house inmates committed to state prisons in local jails. In Louisiana, there are approximately 4,000 inmates housed in local jails (Parish Prisons) who otherwise would have been placed in state prison were it not for the necessity of meeting the conditions of the state's consent decree (*Hayes vs. McKeithen*). In Tennessee over 2,800 inmates, and in Virginia over 2,000 inmates are so housed.

But of all the states, the most dramatic forecast is Florida's, where a combination of conservative sentencing guidelines, crowded jails, population growth and the War on Drugs is rapidly propelling the state's prison system into utter chaos.[5] Between 1983 and 1989 annual prison admissions have increased from 14,301 to nearly 40,000, a 180 percent increase. The state expects these trends to continue, with 1994 prison admissions increasing to 62,912 and the prison population numbering more than 100,000 by 1994.

To counter these dramatic increases in prison admissions and to keep the prison system from becoming "gridlocked," the state has dramatically increased its use of "administrative gain time" and "provisional release credits." These actions have shortened prison terms to the extent that over 3,000 inmates now are being released early *each month* and all inmates serve about 34 percent of their original prison sentences. Only 12 months ago, inmates served about 41 percent of their sentences.

Florida can continue indefinitely to increase these good-time credits and thus reduce the size of the projected prison population. The 1994 projected 100,000 population actually assumes that provisional release credits will be discontinued. In all likelihood this will not happen as the state is forced to stay within its current prison capacity of 41,000 beds. Over 9,000 beds have been authorized for next year and an additional 5,000 to 6,000 beds will be added in the following year. Consequently, the "unrestrained" projection of 100,000 is unlikely to actually occur. But it is likely that prison terms will continue to be dramatically reduced to help the state avoid a grid-lock situation within its prison system. Thus the extent to which the state continues to use shortened prison terms as the sole means for countering the staggering projected population trends is a policy issue state officials will have to address in the near future.

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON DRUGS ON PRISON POPULATIONS

Although a number of factors contribute to the dramatic increases in prison populations, none is more important than the nation's new found emphasis on incarcerating those caught using, selling, and producing illegal drugs. This renewed emphasis on illegal drugs is impacting these states in two ways: 1) Dramatic increases in prison sentences for drug related offenses; and, 2) Dramatic increases in parole violations.

Between 1970 and 1986, drug crimes (sale and possession) only composed about 10 percent of state prison admissions. However, the recent emphasis on drug enforcement has changed that pattern dramatically. Table 3 presents recent trends in prison sentences for drug crimes for selected states. This table shows that many states have experienced a doubling of sentenced drug offenders during the past two to three years. In most states these sentences now represent 20 to 35 percent of prison sentences and are largely responsible for the dramatic increases in prison

populations over the past year.

As expected, Florida presents the most dramatic trends with respect to drug sentencing. In 1985 about 15 percent of all prison admissions were for drug crimes. By the end of 1988 that percentage had increased to over 35 percent. Over 80 percent of drug prison sentences were for cocaine (43.5 percent for sale and 37.9 percent for possession).

These increases have significant side effects on the overall demographic composition of the prison population. First, the already high incarceration rate of minorities continues to increase. Drug enforcement has been narrowly focused on crack, the drug of choice among the underclass, which is also disproportionately Black and Hispanic. Consequently, the proportion of offenders sentenced to prison who are non-white is escalating.

This phenomenon is clearly noted in data provided by Virginia.

The past 12 months have shown significant increases in the number of non-whites incarcerated which in turn can be traced to an increase in drug offenses which are disproportionately non-white (Exhibit B). In Florida 73.3 percent of all drug offenders are Black compared to 53.6 percent for all other prison admissions.

The second effect of the War on Drugs is an increasing number of older offenders. Drug addicts and those involved in drug trafficking tend to persist in their criminal behavior longer than other offenders. As the nation emphasizes the imprisonment of such persons, increasing numbers of offenders above the age of 40 are being sentenced to prison. This age group, while still a minority of all prison admissions, is the fastest growing group of inmates in many states.

Parole failure is also increasing partly due to the increased emphasis on drug testing and Intensive Supervision Programs which are designed primarily to enhance the surveillance of parolees and not necessarily to assist them in the difficult transition from prison to the streets. Based on national data collected by the U.S. Department of Justice there has been a 284 percent increase in the number of parole violators returned to prison between 1977 and 1987. This rate of increase far exceeds the 97 percent increase in court admissions for the same period. Approximately one out of every three prison admissions are people who have failed to complete their parole supervision.

Among all the states, California is again the nation's leader in parole violations. In 1987, there were 62,729 California prison admissions. Half of those admissions were parole violators and 80 percent of the parole violators were returned for technical violations. Based on the national data, nearly two out of every five parole violations occur in California alone (see Exhibit C). More significantly, prison admissions for parole violations now exceed prison admissions for new court sentences.[6]

Table 3: Increases In Drug Offense Prison Admission for Selected States

States	Time Period	Percent Increase
Virginia	July 1986 - June 1989	136%
Michigan	July 1986 - June 1989	201%
Oklahoma	July 1986 - September 1989	174%
Florida	July 1986 - January 1989	168%
Tennessee	July 1986 - June 1989	128%
Illinois	July 1986 - June 1989	156%
Nevada	January 1986 - December 1988	107%
California	January 1982 - December 1987	635%
Louisiana	June 1988 - June 1989	34%

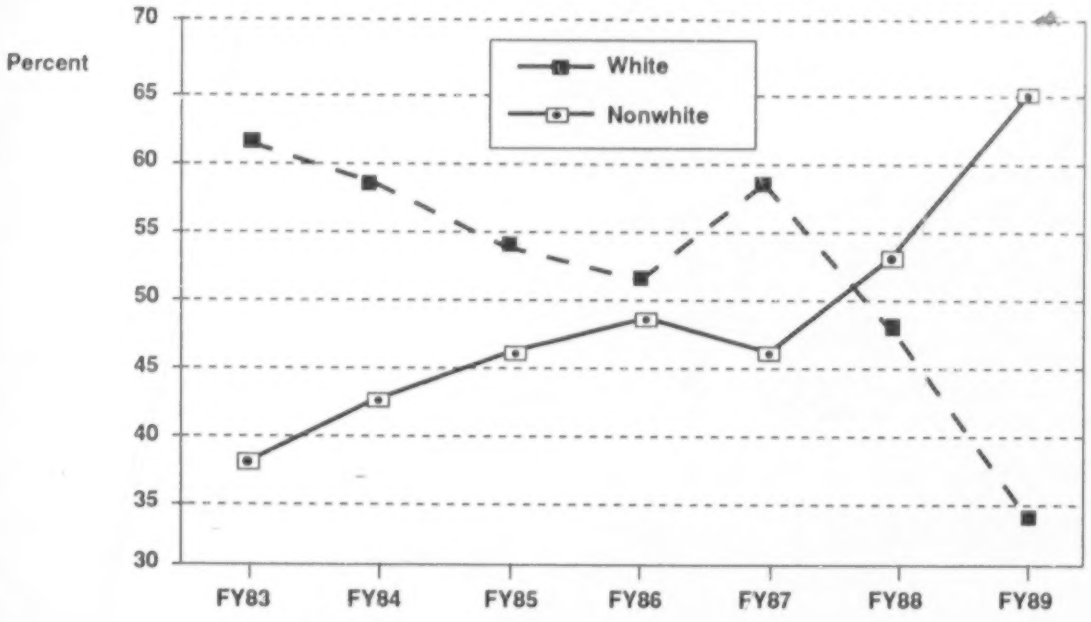
POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The 1988 NCCD FOCUS Forecast included several predictions on how current policies and trends would impact the extent of prison population growth and characteristics of the nation's prison populations. These statements remain pertinent with little updating.

Aging Prison Population: This trend is actually accelerating beyond earlier predictions due to the Drug War. Increasing numbers of prison admissions are for persons over the age of 40 who have been convicted of drug use or trafficking. Coupled with longer prison terms imposed by the courts, more restrictive parole policies, and increased parole violation rates, we can expect prison populations to continue to age. The only trend contradicting this phenomenon will be the dramatic increase in use of good-time credits to shorten prison terms.

Geriatric Prisons: Although there has been no rapid increase in such prisons, it is inevitable that they will become commonplace by the turn of the century. States and the federal courts have passed laws requiring inmates to serve

Exhibit B: Percent of New Drug Commitments by Race, Virginia



their natural lives in prison. Since prisoners in general have poorer health conditions than the population at large, and are increasingly prone to drug and alcohol addiction, the overall health care needs of prisoners will increase as will provision costs.

Expanded and Creative Use of Good-Time Credits: As states continue to face increasing prison admissions, longer prison sentences, and limited prison capacity, the implementation of new and innovative methods for accelerating the use and rate of good-time credits will shorten prison sentences. This tactic has been increasing for some time in many states. As illustrated before, Florida has significantly shortened prison terms by creating new forms of good-time. Illinois continues to give an average of 60 additional days to most inmates for "meritorious" behavior. Such efforts will undoubtedly expand and for good reason. Prior studies have consistently shown that reductions (or increases) in length of stay have no consequences for crime rates.[7]

No Declines in Crime: Despite historic increases in the use of imprisonment, the national crime rate remains unchanged, and more recently, is increasing. Between 1984 and 1988 serious crimes reported to police (excluding drug offenses) per capita have increased by nearly 13 percent. Just recently, the FBI announced that reported crimes had increased again by 3 percent during the first six months of 1989. No reductions in the crime rate are envisioned given demographic and economic trends which indicate an increasing underclass population.

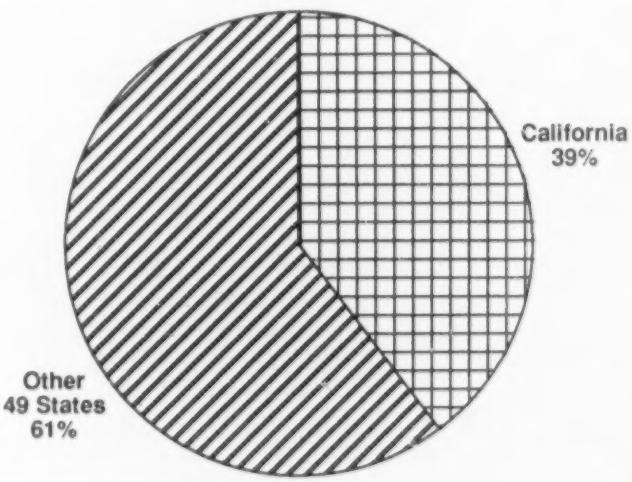
Increasing Proportions of Hispanic and Black Prisoners: As indicated above, the War on Drugs is fueling the rate of incarceration for Hispanics and Blacks. Continued population growth among Hispanics, especially lower class Hispanics, will accentuate this already disturbing trend.

Escalating Prison Budgets: State correctional budgets continue to be the fastest growing segment of state expenditures. It is likely that these appropriations will increase by at least 50 percent over the next five years unless dramatic actions are taken by state officials.

Shortage of Experienced Correctional Staff: Assuming that the national prison population grows by 68 percent during the next five years and an inmate to staff ratio of four to one, over 115,000 correctional officers must be added to the current work force.

Massive Expenditures For Prison Construction: The projected 68 percent inmate population increase translates into an additional 460,000 inmates. At an average cell construction cost of $50,000, states will have to fund a $23 billion construction program over the next five years. If states rely upon conventional bond initiatives to finance this construction program, total costs will at least double to $46 billion before the bonds are repaid.

Exhibit C: Estimated Proportion of Parole Violators Occurring in California



Sources: BJS and CDC

FOOTNOTES

1. U.S. Department of Justice Advance Press Release *"Prison Population Jumps 7.3 Percent In Six Months"* (September 10, 1989).
2. See NCCD FOCUS *Ranking the Most Punitive and Costly States* (July 1989).
3. Calahan, Margaret, *Historical Corrections Statistics in the United States, 1850-1984.* (Washington, D.C.:Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1986).
4. See *California Blue Ribbon Commission: Inmate Population Management* letter to Governor George Deukmejian (September 20, 1989).
5. All the information presented here on Florida is contained in the report entitled *Final Report of the Florida Consensus: Criminal Justice Estimating Conference* (February 23, 1989).
6. See Austin, James and William Elms, *Parole Outcome in California: The Consequences of Determinate Sentencing ,Punishment, and Incapacitation on Parole Performance,* San Francisco, CA: NCCD.
7. See Austin, James "Using Early Release to Relieve Prison Crowding: A Dilemma in Public Policy." *Crime and Delinquency* (October) Vol.32, No.4:404-502.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of people responsible for producing these state projections and related background data contributed to this report. They include Nola Joyce, Brenda Eich, Robert Jones, Glen Whorton, Robin Bates, Rod Lins, Stephan Van Dine, Steven Cuvelier, Michael Jones, John Jarvis, Steve Davis, Cliff Sandal, Carle Jackson, Linda Stevens, William Bales, Linda Dees, Linda Holt, Lisa Lorant, Terry Murphy, Steve DeBohr, Jeff Anderson, Richard Welch, Jerry Beckett, Sue Robertson, and Mark Nasser. The authors wish to acknowledge their invaluable contributions to this report and to their respective states in providing accurate forecasts.

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MARCH 1990

The Impact of Juvenile Court Sanctions:
A Court That Works

BY JAMES AUSTIN, Ph.D.; KAREN JOE; BARRY KRISBERG, Ph.D.; AND PATRICIA A. STEELE

HIGHLIGHTS

Grave doubts are often expressed about the efficacy of juvenile court sanctions. In particular, concepts such as individualized treatment and rehabilitation, cornerstones of the juvenile court's philosophy, are under attack from liberal and conservative critics. The juvenile court is accused of being too lenient with serious offenders and too punitive with minor ones. Calls for major reforms are being heard in legislatures throughout the nation.

This questioning of the juvenile court's basic philosophy coincides with the severe fiscal pressures known to all juvenile justice agencies. In turn, increasing demands are placed on juvenile courts to accomplish goals commensurate with public revenue investments. Although a wealth of studies on the juvenile court exist, few have looked at the impact of court sanctions on delinquent and adult criminal careers, providing no answers to mounting challenges to the juvenile court.

The Second District Juvenile Court of Utah, serving the Salt Lake City area with 700,000 residents, was selected as a research site to assess the impact of various juvenile court interventions on serious juvenile offenders. Salt Lake City has experienced many of the pressures felt by other urban centers. For example, in 1985, when the NCCD evaluation was underway, the city's Part I[1] crime rate was 6,425 per 100,000 – a rate higher than Boston, Philadelphia or San Francisco.

In response to the increased crime rate, Utah developed a wide range of intervention strategies for delinquent youths. Sanctions available through the District Court include informal probation, fines and restitution, and formal probation. Placement with the Department of Youth Corrections is another available option, but the state has made a conscious effort to reduce the number of beds in secure facilities. Since 1980 such bedspace has been reduced from 350 to 60. A number of community-based programs also have been developed. (See Exhibit A).

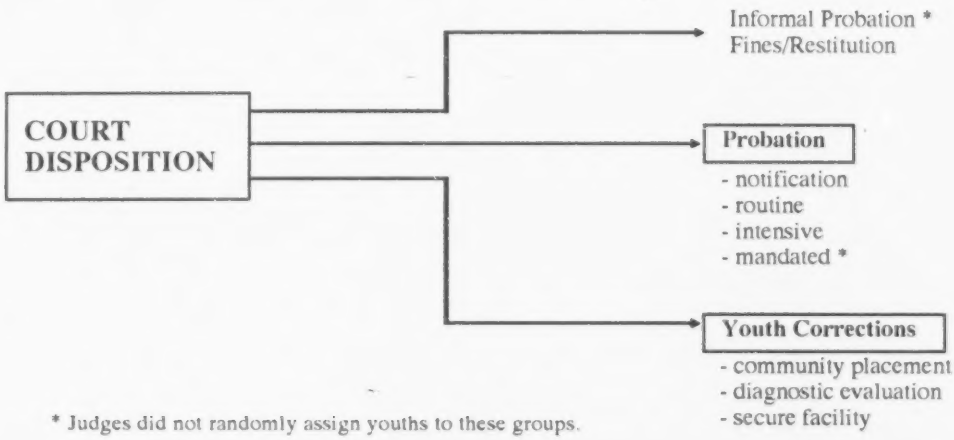
Thus, the NCCD study tested the effects of several court interventions during an 18-month period beginning in 1983. In order to evaluate the impact of the most frequently used court disposition, probation, a classic experimental design involving random assignment to three types of probation was utilized. In addition, NCCD studied the impact of three Youth Corrections sanctions: 1) short-term confinement, 2) long-term secure confinement, and 3) community-based placements. Finally, a risk assessment instrument was developed to aid the court in assigning youths to various kinds of probation supervision.

Data on the effectiveness of juvenile court interventions were gathered primarily from four sources: court intake records, youth questionnaires, bi-monthly supervision/service reports from youth workers and official data on court referrals.

The findings of the study include:

- The vast majority (53 percent to 81 percent) of all youths involved in the study were rearrested at least once during the follow-up period;
- Although rearrest rates declined for probationers generally, there were essentially no differences in the frequency or timing of rearrest across the three randomly assigned probation groups;
- Although a large proportion of the Youth Corrections offenders continued to be arrested, there were large declines in the rate of offending for all three Youth Corrections dispositional categories;
- The recidivism data for Youth Corrections offenders strongly indicate that the imposition of appropriate community-based controls on highly active serious and chronic juvenile offenders does not compromise public protection;
- The evidence suggests that short periods of confinement may be as effective as long periods of confinement; and

Exhibit A: Utah Second District Court Disposition Options



* Judges did not randomly assign youths to these groups.

- Risk-assessment analysis conducted in this study suggests that probationers do reflect varying risk levels in terms of future recidivism. These varying risk levels can be identified and should be accounted for in deciding which offender should receive the more intensive forms of probation intervention.

THE COURT

The subjects of this study were the most serious juvenile offenders processed through Utah's Second District Juvenile Court. Attention focused on the youths at the point of their disposition, particularly those placed on probation or committed to the Utah Division of Youth Corrections. The youths included in this study represent only 11 percent of all referrals to the Second District Court. Yet, this caseload exerts a vastly disproportionate claim on judicial and correctional resources.

At the time the NCCD study began, the Court had established a policy of diversion of minor offenders and status offenders to informal probation, and the use of fines and restitution to handle less serious offenders. Probation was reserved for those youths involved in serious property crimes.

Youth Corrections placements were reserved for youths with extensive criminal histories of repetitive and serious property crimes, numerous prior probation placements and violent behavior. In turn, these youths received much more intensive supervision and control than probationers.

The primary determinants of the Court's decision-making were the nature and seriousness of the instant offense and, especially, the extent of prior referrals. Dramatic differences were observed in prior patterns of offending among youths assigned to probation compared to those sentenced to Youth Corrections.

In addition to these legal factors, the Court identified drug abuse and severe family problems as key factors in decisions to commit youths to Youth Corrections. The majority of youths receiving probation and Youth Corrections dispositions did report drug and alcohol use and experimentation. Dispositional patterns were not related to inappropriate factors such as race or family economic status.

Court-related findings of the study include:

- Youths receiving the three major dispositions (informal probation, probation, youth corrections) varied dramatically in the nature and extent of their self-reported involvement in delinquency over the preceding 12 months. Court sanctions roughly corresponded to the nature and extent of past delinquent behavior.
- Young people committed to community-based placements within Youth Corrections were charged with less serious offenses and had fewer prior court involvements than those sent to the secure facility.
- The Court is extremely successful in its decision-making. It devotes considerable resources to thorough intake screening and regularly collects extensive client data prior to court decisions. The Court benefits from a sophisticated automated information system that allows easy access to the complete criminal histories of each offender.

Table 1: Percentage of Youth Rearrested After Adjudication

Item	PROBATION Notification (N=124)	Routine (N=121)	Intensive (N=134)	YOUTH CORRECTIONS Diagnostic (N=113)	Community (N=68)	Secure (N=66)
Time Period:						
0 - 120 days	46.0%	44.6%	46.3%	49.6%	55.9%	63.6%
0 - 183 days	55.6%	53.7%	59.0%	60.2%	67.6%	68.2%
0 - 365 days	66.1%	70.2%	70.9%	69.9%	76.5%	78.8%
Average Number of Days to First Arrest:	116.6	114.4	110.9	121.1	116.8	90.1
Number of Arrests:						
0 None	33.9%	29.8%	29.1%	30.1%	23.5%	21.2%
1 Arrest	13.7%	10.7%	17.9%	21.2%	27.9%	18.2%
2 Arrests	13.7%	13.2%	07.5%	17.7%	13.2%	21.2%
3 Arrests	08.1%	09.1%	10.4%	13.3%	08.8%	12.1%
4 Arrests	04.8%	10.7%	06.7%	07.1%	11.8%	12.1%
5+ Arrests	25.8%	26.7%	28.4%	10.6%	14.8%	15.2%
Average Arrests over 12 Months	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.5

- On the average, youths in all groups positively evaluated their treatment by the Second District Court. Youths believed that the Court adequately protected their legal rights and that Court workers were genuinely concerned for their well-being.
- Despite large differences in offenses and prior court contacts, the offenders shared similar perceptions of the likelihood of future apprehension and the severity of punishment for a variety of offenses.
- The Court received a favorable rating from youths sanctioned by the court, possibly attributable to the high caliber and extensive professional backgrounds of the judges appointed to the Court.

PROBATION AND YOUTH CORRECTIONS INTERVENTIONS

The experimental component of the study was designed to measure the effectiveness of probation intervention. Three factors – differing levels of probation supervision, the provision of treatment services and differing types of agencies providing treatment services – were crucial elements of the experimental design.

During the study period, the Second District Court judges agreed to permit virtually all youths eligible for probation to be randomly placed into one of three probation models: (1) notification (no contacts), (2) routine supervision, and (3) intensive probation supervision and treatment.[2]

- The notification group consisted of youths placed on probation who were to receive no supervision or services from the juvenile court. Probation officers could modify this program if the youth was rearrested.
- Youths in the routine supervision group were expected to receive a level of supervision commensurate with the norm of most probation departments. Clients requesting treatment services were referred to agencies other than the probation department for these services. There was also a minimum requirement of two face-to-face supervision contacts per month. Probation officers were allowed to modify this probation program but only after the first 90 days.
- The intensive supervision group was to receive a minimum of one face-to-face contact and one phone contact per week plus discretionary use of treatment services. Unlike the routine condition, probation officers provided both supervision and treatment services and they were permitted to alter an individual's probation program after the first 90 days if appropriate.

Overall, the data indicate that the experimental design was successfully implemented. The offenders assigned to the three groups showed

Table 2 : Percentage of Youth Rearrested After Adjudication By Type of Offense

	PROBATION			YOUTH CORRECTIONS		
	Notification (N=397)	Routine (N=588)	Intensive (N=434)	Diagnostic (N=377)	Community (N=255)	Secure (N=252)
Violent	05.5%	08.5%	08.1%	02.9%	09.4%	06.0%
Part 1 Property	43.6%	37.4%	42.4%	41.9%	46.3%	42.1%
Other Property	11.8%	14.2%	12.2%	11.9%	12.6%	15.5%
Drugs and Alcohol	11.8%	11.6%	11.3%	08.2%	10.2%	05.1%
Other	17.6%	18.8%	19.6%	28.9%	14.1%	29.3%
Status	09.6%	09.5%	06.4%	06.1%	07.4%	02.0%

no major differences in background factors or offense variables. While the levels of supervision obtained in each experimental condition were not precisely what was planned, the levels of probation supervision and treatment varied directly with the form of random assignment.

The second component of the design entailed a follow-up study of offenders committed to Youth Corrections. Whereas juveniles were randomly assigned to probation conditions, Youth Corrections placements were determined by correctional staff in consultation with the judges. The Youth Corrections disposition could be one of three types:

1. community placement in which the youth was assigned to foster care, a group home, or other community-based program;
2. diagnostic placement, a short-term secure placement for evaluation and subsequent assignment to a community-based program; or
3. placement in a secure facility for at least six months.

Upon release, youths sent to secure confinement often entered one of the community-based programs as part of their re-entry requirements.

Youth Corrections offenders, unlike probationers, possessed extensive and serious criminal histories. They received nearly twice the number of weekly face-to-face contacts as youths in the intensive probation group. Nearly 80 percent of the offenders sent to Youth Corrections received short-term residential placements. Surveillance and services provided to these youths were highly individualized and were delivered principally by private vendors under contract with the Division of Youth Corrections.

REARREST RATES

No significant variations were found among the three experimental probation groups in terms of (1) the proportion rearrested, (2) the frequency or incidence of new arrests, (3) the nature of the new offenses, or (4) the time until the first arrest. Most arrests occurred during the first 120 days after court disposition for primarily Part I property crimes. Each probation group had an average of two arrests in the 12 months following their placement on probation. Even during the first three month period – when differences among the experimental groups in terms of service and supervision were the greatest – there were no statistically significant differences in various measures of recidivism.

Youth Corrections youths varied more among groups in terms of the proportion rearrested (Table 1). Community placement and diagnostic placement youths performed similarly to the experimental probation youths and slightly better than secure facility offenders. The secure facility group had the highest proportion of youths rearrested (79 percent), the shortest period to first arrest (90 days), and the highest annual arrest rate (2.5 per year), although these differences are not very large. For these youths, a small proportion of the subsequent charges involved violent crimes (6 percent) (Table 2).

Although a large proportion of Youth Corrections offenders continued to be arrested, there were large declines in the rate of offending for all three Youth Corrections dispositional categories. The 247 Youth Corrections offenders in the NCCD study accounted for 1,765 arrests in the 12 months previous to their commitment to the Division. Once released into the community, these same youths accumulated 593 new arrests – a drop of nearly 66 percent compared to the pre-Youth Corrections period.

If one considers the total number of charges involved in these arrests, the results are even more impressive. These Youth Corrections youths were charged with 3,215 offenses in the year prior to their court adjudication as compared to 884 offenses in the post-adjudication period. It should be noted that adjustments were made for the time spent in secure facilities versus time

Table 3 : 12-Month At-Risk Time Pre- and Post-Intervention Arrests And Offenses*: The Suppression Effect **

	PROBATION			YOUTH CORRECTIONS		
	Notification (N=124)	Routine (N=121)	Intensive (N=134)	Diagnostic (N=105)	Community (N=64)	Secure (N=64)
Mean Number of Arrests:						
Pre-Intervention	03.5	03.6	03.5	06.3	05.4	07.0
Post-Intervention	02.2	02.2	02.0	01.9	02.0	02.2
Difference	-01.3	-01.4	-1.5	-04.4	-03.4	-04.8
Suppression Effect	-37.1%	-39.0%	-42.8%	-69.8%	-62.9%	-68.5%
Mean Number of Offenses:						
Pre-Intervention	06.1	05.7	05.5	12.1	09.2	12.5
Post-Intervention	03.2	03.2	03.2	03.0	03.4	03.6
Difference	-02.9	-02.5	-02.3	-09.1	-05.8	-08.9
Suppression Effect	-47.5%	-43.8%	-41.8%	-75.2%	-63.0%	-71.2%

* In this analysis, the original preintervention number was used -1 (to control for instant offense).

** The Suppression Effect is the mean number of offenses postintervention (A_{po}) minus the mean number of offenses preintervention (A_{pr}) divided by the mean number of offenses preintervention (A_{pr}) or: $S = \frac{(A_{po} - A_{pr})}{A_{pr}}$

in community placement or diagnostic treatment. The follow-up period for secure facilities was 12 months after release. If the youth committed an offense for which he received an additional period of confinement, the follow-up period was subsequently extended. For the other two groups it was simply 12 months after the date of disposition.

OBSERVED SUPPRESSION EFFECTS

These results led us to employ an alternative and innovative measure to estimate recidivism. This measure – the suppression effect – focused not on the absolute cessation of delinquency, but rather, on the reduction in the frequency of delinquent behavior; or, the rate at which youth reoffend.[3]

Three separate analyses were completed to refine the conclusions drawn about the suppression effect. In the primary analysis, 12 month pre- and post-intervention periods were used. Table 3 shows that all groups showed some decrease in the post-intervention period. There were no major differences between the experimental probation groups. The greatest reductions occurred for the Youth Corrections groups. Overall, the Youth Corrections offenders showed a 63 to 70 percent reduction in their number of arrests.

An important observation was that of the high pre-intervention arrest rates of the Youth Corrections groups. This phenomenon helped to explain the dramatic decreases shown in the post-intervention period.

The research design did not permit precise estimates of the contributions of treatment or simple deterrence effects to the observed declining rates of offending. The observed dramatic declines are partially attributable to maturation and to a natural decline that is predictable after very high rates of offending behavior. Maturation effects and an expected statistical effect, known as regression to the mean, reduce the magnitude of the suppression effect, but do not completely account for the observed reductions in delinquency.

The recidivism data for Youth Corrections offenders strongly indicate that the imposition of appropriate community-based controls on highly active serious and chronic juvenile offenders did not compromise public protection. Of course, some might assert that if

Utah securely confined all these youths instead of placing them in community-based programs, the reduction in crime would have been greater. While this argument is correct in theory, this policy would have required massive additional expenditures for capital construction and for the annual operations budget of the Division of Youth Corrections. Considering that the vast majority of subsequent offenses committed by the Youth Corrections offenders were minor property crimes, these extravagant public expenditures do not seem warranted.

The NCCD study also provided evidence that short periods of confinement were as effective as long periods of confinement. The Youth Corrections community-based programs are considerably more expensive than traditional probation, but less costly than confining youths in training schools. A recent NCCD study of the Massachusetts Department of Youth Corrections found similar results.[4]

Exhibit B : NCCD Probation Risk Instrument

Risk Score

Risk Level	N	%	0-1 Arrests	5+ Arrests
Low	102	19.1	78.4%	1.5%
Moderate	230	43.2%	44.4%	25.2%
High	201	37.7%	33.8%	36.3%
Total	**533**	**100.0%**	**46.9%**	**26.1%**

Risk Instrument Items

Items Used	Points
1. Age at first arrest	
9-12 years	2
13	1
14+	0
2. Drug or alcohol associated with offense:	
Yes	1
No	0
3. Number of offenses in last 12 months:	
1 or 2	0
3 or more	3
4. Weapon used in the offense:	
No	0
Yes	1

Risk Instrument Items

Items Used	Points
5. Father's occupation:	
Blue collar profession	2
Other	0
6. Youth's employment status:	
Full-time/Part-time	0
Unemployed	2
7. Sex	
Male	2
Female	0

Scale

Points	Supervision Level
0-6	Low
7-9	Moderate
10+	High

USING RISK ASSESSMENT TO ALLOCATE RESOURCES

The success of any correctional program can be enhanced by choosing the most appropriate offenders. In particular the use of probation can be substantially fine-tuned. Research findings from this study suggest that probationers do reflect varying risk levels in terms of future recidivism. These varying risk levels should be accounted for in deciding who should receive the more intensive forms of probation intervention. For example, one-third of the probationers were not rearrested, whereas about one-fourth were rearrested at least five times. The effectiveness of probation services would be improved if the high risk cases were properly identified and received higher levels of supervision. Lower risk cases could receive minimal probation intervention.

To facilitate improved caseload management, NCCD developed an objective risk-based instrument to better assign probationers to levels of supervision (Exhibit B). This instrument employs empirical factors that are statistically associated with probation failure. These factors were then combined in a scale to categorize individual probationers in terms of their supervision and service needs. The Second District Court data revealed that the following variables are statistically significant predictors of future recidivism among probationers:

- sex
- youth's employment status at arrest
- father's occupation
- weapon usage during the instant offense
- drug or alcohol use associated with the instant offense
- age at first court referral
- the number of offenses occurring 12 months prior to the instant offense.

The use of improved risk screening to augment probation officers' clinical judgments could result in more realistic allocation of existing probation resources (Exhibit C). The study suggested that large numbers of probationers could be managed with minimal or summary forms of supervision. This would free staff resources to concentrate very high

Exhibit C: Fiscal Implications of Extending Secure Confinement For Probationers and Community Placements

	Probation	Community Placement	Totals
A. Annual Admissions	304	76	380
B. Length of Stay	270 days	270 days	--
C. Additional Beds Required	225 beds	56 beds	281
D. Construction Costs (@ $115,885 per bed)	$26,047,125	$6,489,560	$32,563,685
E. Operating Costs (@ $115 per day)	$9,439,200	$2,359,800	$11,799,000
F. Current Costs	$820,800*	$1,128,600**	$1,949,400
G. Difference (E-F)	+$8,618,400	+$1,231,200	+$9,849,600
H. With Construction Costs (D+G)	$31,118,400	$6,831,200	$42,413,285

* @ $10 per day x 270 days
** @ $55 per day x 270 days

levels of supervision and services on high risk offenders. Further, the data on risk factors point to programmatic options that should be built into specialized caseloads for chronic offenders.[5]

Traditional juvenile probation services in the Second District were not particularly individualized. Probation staff focused upon satisfying court requirements (e.g., ensuring that restitution was paid to victims), but lacked clear guidelines on how to evaluate the progress of their clients. These findings suggest that the Court must provide greater leadership in defining the goals of probation.

The NCCD research suggests that efforts to streamline probation operations and to more efficiently utilize existing budget allocations are much needed. But, the required reforms in juvenile probation practices should follow a careful period of demonstration and field testing. While NCCD does not recommend increasing the investment in conventional probation services, it would be equally unwise to reduce current levels of funding.

A COURT THAT WORKS

This research found a court that makes appropriate sentencing decisions commensurate with the needs of the youthful offenders and concerns for public safety. More significantly, the data clearly show that youths with lengthy arrest records can be safely returned to the community after relatively short periods of confinement under a well-funded community corrections program. Although the findings with respect to probation intervention were disappointing, they must be understood in the context of the offense careers of probationers in this court. Because judges selectively use the most severe sanctions available to them, probationers often represent marginal offenders, most of whom will soon cease their delinquent activities. The more powerful and costly sanctions are reserved for the more chronic serious offenders. The Court handles them in a firm manner but remains committed to the ideal of rehabilitation.

This study provides strong evidence of the need for careful diagnosis and risk assessment and for the design of creative probation services that respond to diagnosed needs.

FOOTNOTES

1 The F.B.I.'s Uniform Crime Report (UCR) defines Part I offenses as homicide, forcible rape, aggravated assault, robbery, burglary, motor vehicle theft, larceny-theft and arson.

2 There were two other categories of probation to which individuals were not randomly assigned - informal probation and mandated probation. Research results for these two groups are reported in the full final report.

3 Murray, Charles A. and Louis A. Cox, Jr., *Beyond Probation* (Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage, 1979).

4 Krisberg, Barry, James Austin and Patricia A. Steele, "Unlocking Juvenile Corrections: Evaluating the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services" (San Francisco: NCCD, 1989).

5 As a result of the study the Second District Court has adopted the use of a risk assessment instrument and has since modified it.

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This research was sponsored by the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention under Cooperative Agreement Award Number 82-JN-AX-0009. Opinions stated herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position of OJJDP or the U.S. Department of Justice.

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THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

AUGUST 1990

Improving Correctional Performance Through Better Classification:

The Client Management Classification System

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HIGHLIGHTS

Corrections' workers often adopt styles of supervision that are successful with a portion of the offender population but markedly unsuccessful with the balance. Or, they may, through trial and error, find an effective supervision strategy for individual offenders. The Client Management Classification (CMC) system provides a structured way for staff to immediately evaluate offenders and to quickly develop supervision strategies based on specific offender types.

CMC uses a structured offender interview and scoring guide to classify offenders into one of four groupings: Selective Intervention, Casework/Control, Environmental Structure and Limit Setting. Once classified, supervision and case planning guides help structure case plans and supervision strategies for each offender type. CMC training has been supported by the National Institute of Corrections at various levels since 1981 and, to date, it is estimated that over 15,000 correction professionals have been trained in the system. Currently, 75 jurisdictions and the Canadian federal correctional system have adopted CMC.

Most importantly, CMC has significantly improved the effectiveness of community supervision. Three separate evaluations conducted by different agencies examined rates of return to prison (or a similar measure) to determine CMC effectiveness. All three studies showed that use of CMC in field supervision results in significantly improved outcomes.

With its success in adult probation and parole, the CMC concept has been modified to include incarcerated adults and juvenile offenders through Strategies for Juvenile Supervision (SJS) and Prisoner Management Classification (PMC). Preliminary results show that PMC and SJS may be as successful with confined populations as CMC has been with adult probationers and parolees.

INTRODUCTION

Exhibitionists, armed robbers, burglars, murderers, marijuana users, drug pushers, wife beaters, check bouncers, prostitutes, white-collar offenders, those who fail to pay support -- are all labeled criminal. Yet they differ considerably in living stability, acceptance of criminal behavior, likelihood of re-offending, emotional needs, levels of education, work skills, honesty, and other factors. Correctional workers require both an understanding of the individual and flexibility in applying different supervisory techniques to deal effectively with this variety of people and problems.

Supervising officers need to understand offenders in order to know when to:

- confront or support,
- be directive,
- trust,
- recommend psychotherapy, and
- set rules (and which rules).

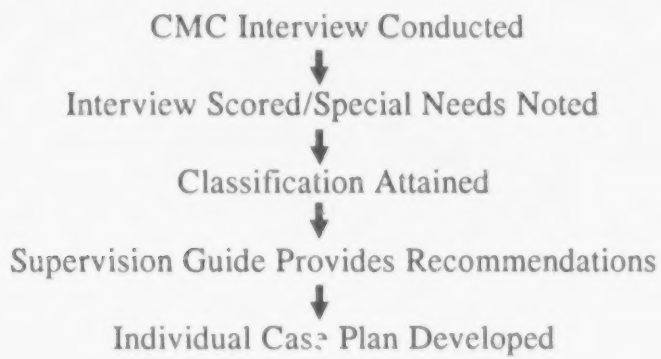
Those who rely too heavily on one method (e.g., always domineering) tend to work effectively with some offenders and not others. Staff who develop a better understanding of individuals and apply a range of supervisory techniques can be more effective with a greater variety of clients.

Other workers may, through a process of trial and error, hit upon a supervision strategy which is effective, however, this creates problems when time is limited. The first few months of supervision are critical to successful completion of probation and parole. Therefore, corrections would greatly benefit from a method that would reduce the time required to develop casework strategies.

In 1975, the Wisconsin Bureau of Community Corrections undertook an extensive evaluation of its probation and parole supervision procedures. One of the project goals was to develop a system which would provide probation and parole officers with a better method of initially evaluating offenders and developing case plans based on more effective supervision strategies. The product of this effort was the Client Management Classification (CMC) system.

The CMC system consists of a structured offender interview and scoring guide, supervision guide, and case planning guide. The score is translated into one of four offender groupings: Selective Intervention, Casework/Control, Environmental Structure and Limit Setting. Each

Figure 1: The CMC Process



offender group has a supervision guide with objective guidelines that assist officers in quickly developing case plans and in adapting supervision strategies to work more effectively with each type of offender. Figure 1 schematically illustrates the CMC process.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CMC SYSTEM

As a first step in constructing the CMC system, factors with potential for differentiating basic offender types were defined. A forced-choice rating form was developed to measure these factors, using information obtained during client interviews. Due to difficulties in achieving reliable ratings, a focused interview with scripted questions was developed to ensure that the appropriate information was obtained. Subsequently, a scoring guide was also developed to improve reliability among interviewers. Questions and items were continually revised and simplified over time to improve the flow of the interview.

The original offender groupings were defined by members of the CMC development team in Wisconsin. This group consisted of two clinical psychologists, a line officer, and research staff. After thorough evaluations, offenders were placed in one of the four casework groups based on the team's assessment of such items as the offender's needs, problems, personality and criminal style, and the recommendations the development team would have provided to officers working with those clients.

Each offender in both the construction and cross-validation samples (N=250) was then tracked for 12 months to determine if anticipated problems, attitudes and need for services did indeed surface. These data, combined with the project team's assessment of appropriate supervision strategies, resulted in the development of written supervision guidelines for each offender group. The guides briefly describe each offender group, explain behaviors and attitudes that officers may encounter, and provide practical recommendations for working with each group. Areas covered include offender goals, officer/offender relationships, appropriate auxiliary services and programs, and supervision techniques.

The final version of the classification interview consists of 45 items dealing sequentially with the offender's attitudes about the offense, offense history, family interpersonal relationships, current problems, and future plans. For each of these general areas, one or two open-ended questions are provided, followed by more specific questions designed to elicit the needed information. In addition to the interview, there are 11 objective background and offense history items, 8 behavior ratings (based on interview behavior), and 7 items calling for officers' impressions of the offender's most and least important problem areas. Scoring guidelines clarify all sections of the interview and are included at the bottom of each page for easy reference.

The final step in the CMC process is the development of individualized case plans. This process includes identifying offender strengths and weaknesses as determined by the assessment interview and classification. Identified needs are then prioritized and converted into behavioral objectives utilizing an adaptation of Dr. Todd Clear's work on objective-based case planning (undated). The case plan specifies measurable objectives and time frames for achieving them. It includes an action plan for each objective that specifies expectations for both the officer and offender. The case plan provides a document for measuring an offender's progress and becomes the focus for the dynamic process of supervision.

Since its original development in Wisconsin, two significant adaptations of CMC have evolved. One of these is a modified version of the interview and supervision guide for dealing with incarcerated adults -- Prison Management Classification (PMC). Examples of prisoner supervision strategies are included in the summaries below. Perhaps even more significant is the development of a system for juvenile offenders Strategies for Juvenile Supervision (SJS). SJS has already been implemented in three states with several others scheduled to begin implementation this year.

SUPERVISION STRATEGIES

After classification has been completed, the CMC system provides case planning and supervision strategies for each case type. Brief descriptions of the four case types and recommended supervision strategies follow.

Selective Intervention

The treatment group Selective Intervention (SI) contains two subgroups: Selective

Intervention-Situational (SI-S) and Selective Intervention-Treatment (SI-T). Though the groups share common characteristics, SI-T is differentiated by the presence of one or more of the following specific factors:

- Sexual offense history
- Serious drug or alcohol abuse
- Serious emotional disturbances
- Assaultive offense history

The SI group is characterized by a generally pro-social value structure and stable lifestyle. The offense history is usually limited, with the current offense often being the first. Criminal conduct is generally the result of an isolated stressful event (SI-S) or in response to a specific neurotic need (SI-T). As such, the criminal behavior is at variance with the individual's usual value structure and response to stress.

Under supervision, these individuals tend to present the fewest problems and require the least amount of staff contacts. These offenders tend to make good use of insight and reality-oriented counseling with the officer, and usually are found to be honest and reliable in their reporting. Caution must be observed with the SI group in that they will sometimes minimize their criminal behavior and their responsibilities under supervision.

SI-T offenders generally have the pro-social value structures and stable lives that characterize the SI group as a whole. Often, however, they present specific and chronic problems that are likely to continue without intervention and treatment. Although they are frequently able to function vocationally and interpersonally, the likelihood of continued criminal involvement is great unless treatment needs are handled appropriately.

In the institution, SI inmates may experience excessive sensitivity about their crimes and about incarceration. Depression may occur, especially during the early stages, and may include suicidal thoughts and extreme swings from self-blame to denial of all responsibility. Withdrawal and depression may be intense, often followed by equally intense attachments to other inmates. This may be the result of the SI inmate's perceived need for protection or acceptance and will often result in exploitation by the more criminally oriented or sophisticated peer.

The initial isolation of SI is often increased by the harassment of other inmates who perceive them as overly conforming and exhibiting superior attitudes toward the balance of the population. Until personal stability is restored, adjustment to the institution may be difficult and conduct problems may occur. Over time, SI inmates often adapt well to the institution setting, presenting the fewest security problems and providing a positive influence in the housing unit.

The Client Management Classification system provides a structured way for staff to immediately evaluate offenders and to quickly develop supervision strategies based on specific offender types.

Casework/Control

The Casework/Control (CC) group is characterized by chronic and generalized instability which is often the product of chaotic and abusive childhoods. In adulthood this instability may be manifested in chemical abuse, serious emotional problems, frequent changes in residence and employment, and attachment to others who are equally unstable.

Criminal behavior in the CC group seems to reflect the general lack of direction often seen in the lifestyles of these clients. Offenses range from the trivial to the serious and are frequently the result of long-term emotional and adjustment problems as well as chemical abuse. Negative self-perceptions and distorted social attitudes can also contribute to illegal or anti-social conduct. Although CC offenders often have average intelligence and possess reasonable vocational skills, success is often blocked by emotional problems, chemical abuse, self-defeating behavior, and negative interpersonal attitudes.

Generally, CC is a difficult group to supervise. Attitudes toward authority are often poor, and motivation toward sustained positive effort is often lacking. Case activity is high with this multi-need group, and crisis situations can be frequent.

In an institution setting, the CC group frequently encounters interpersonal problems with peers and staff alike. Authority problems and generally negative responses to others will often result in institution misconduct. As with the criminal behavior of this group, prison misconduct may range from the trivial to the serious, and is often the result of chemical, emotional, or interpersonal problems. During periods of stress, self-mutilation or suicide attempts may occur.

Programming for the CC inmate should include long-term treatment to resolve the chemical, emotional, or interpersonal problems that often block successful adjustment. Staff should be realistic in attempts to work with the CC inmate and should resist the temptation to resolve all of the problems presented. CC clients are often adept at blaming others and will attempt to rely on the efforts of others rather than their own.

Environmental Structure

The Environmental Structure (ES) treatment group is characterized by a lack of social and vocational skills. These individuals are often easily led and frequently encounter criminal difficulties through association with more criminally oriented and sophisticated peers. Intellectual deficits can be found in this group and may contribute to the general lack of social, vocational, and survival skills. Involvement in crime is generally impulsive and unsophisticated, and frequently motivated by a desire to be accepted by others. Although their behavior can be dangerous and assaultive, their motivation is seldom malicious.

Supervision for the ES group should include the development of survival skills, improved social skills, and increased impulse control. The dependency noted in this treatment group can be used to the advantage of correctional workers during

TABLE 1
Results of Milwaukee Intensive Supervision/CMC Study

Outcome Measure	Regular Supervision (N=147)	Intensive Supervision (N=123)	Intensive Supervision w/CMC (N=152)
Revoked	29.9%	24.4%	19.7%
Employed full time at termination	42.4%	48.8%	52.2%
Income over $400/mo. at termination	43.6%	46.4%	55.2%

Differences between Regular Supervision and Intensive/CMC Supervision are significant at the .05 level.

the course of probation or parole supervision. ES offenders are often eager to please and frequently will respond to supportive and non-threatening guidance.

The characteristic skill deficits evident in the ES offender are also seen in the institution setting, as is the tendency to be led by others. ES inmates respond well to praise and often will work hard in order to maintain a sense of accomplishment, but they are usually unable to generalize from one situation to another. As in field supervision, ES inmates will often form attachments to staff members who are accepting and supportive. This dependency can be used positively and can be helpful in limiting the influence that sophisticated and exploitive peers have on the ES inmate.

Security problems within the ES group are generally related to their impulsiveness and their exploitation by others. The ES inmate is generally not an insightful individual and may have difficulty approaching staff with specific problems. These inmates are seldom adept at dealing directly or constructively with interpersonal conflicts. Misconduct under such circumstances can be seen as a means to avoid such confrontations.

In the housing unit, ES inmates are susceptible to manipulation and exploitation by others. They are often motivated by a desire to be accepted and have difficulty differentiating between positive and negative influences. Given the likelihood of intellectual as well as skill deficits, the ES inmate frequently has difficulty being accepted as an equal in the housing unit. They are often perceived as slow, odd, and unsophisticated. They may experience isolation, except when they are used and manipulated by others. Where possible, these inmates should be placed under the influence of staff and of positive and supportive peers.

Because the ES offender is likely to lack insight, counseling and therapy must avoid abstraction and generalization. The development of social skills should be stressed, as well as assertiveness and the constructive use of leisure time. Appropriate intellectual and vocational testing is essential so that unrealistic goals are not developed. Basic education or remedial education is often necessary with this group, and in many cases, planning should aim toward sheltered work situations.

Limit Setting

The Limit Setting (LS) group is best characterized by a criminal orientation and a general lack of commitment to pro-social values. These individuals often appear motivated toward success in crime and have little interest in applying their skills or talents to socially acceptable endeavors. Criminal behavior within this group is generally motivated by money, excitement, and power. Criminal histories are often lengthy and marked by numerous felonies and violent or aggressive offenses. LS offenders are often well-known to the criminal justice system and experience a fair amount of comfort in correctional institutions.

Planning for the LS offender must recognize the potential for danger to the public, manifested in high stakes property offenses and violence. Public protection and officer safety are important concerns in field supervision. Treatment is generally rejected by the offender except as a means to avoid more restrictive sanctions. Supervision must focus responsibility on the offender and must provide control and surveillance when appropriate. Limits and consequences for misbehavior must be detailed in advance and all rules enforced consistently. Where possible, attempts should be made to foster an interest in legal means to meet financial, power, and excitement needs.

LS offenders may adapt well to institutions because of previous involvement with the criminal justice system and a well-developed ability to manipulate a familiar environment. These inmates may dominate the more desirable jobs and/or program placements. Program achievement, however, may not be indicative of real change in attitude or orientation. The LS inmate will often emerge in a leadership role within the inmate power structure, so impressionable or vulnerable inmates (such as ES inmates) should be protected from this group.

Release planning for the LS group should stress accountability and legitimate means of support. LS offenders often have sound social skills and the ability to locate residence and employment. Assistance should be offered, however, because a return to former surroundings and its set of values may make re-adjustment difficult, even for the well-intentioned offender.

CMC EVALUATION STUDIES

Since CMC's implementation, three jurisdictions have independently evaluated the system's effectiveness, using both experimental and quasi-experimental designs.

The first of these studies was done in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, comparing differences in three outcome measures (probation revocations, full-time employment, and income) between high-risk probation offenders randomly assigned to:

- regular supervision;
- intensive supervision only; or
- intensive supervision with CMC.

The intensive supervision only condition required increased staffing and client contact over regular supervision. The difference between intensive supervision and intensive supervision with CMC was the utilization of the CMC initial assessment and case planning procedures. As shown in Table 1, the CMC group performed better than either the regular supervision or intensive supervision groups on all three outcome measures. Differences were most significant between regular supervision and CMC.

TABLE 2

Texas Board of Pardon and Parole
CMC and Release Outcome

Percent Pre-Revocation: 6 Months

Case Type	Poor Risk	Fair Risk	Good Risk	Total
CMC	15% (36/235)*	11% (64/608)**	6% (19/333)	10% (119/1176)**
No CMC	23% (68/296)	17% (129/740)	7% (24/339)	16% (221/1375)
TOTAL	**20% (104/531)**	**14% (193/1348)**	**6% (38/672)**	**13% (335/2551)**

Percent Pre-Revocation: 1 Year

Case Type	Poor Risk	Fair Risk	Good Risk	Total
CMC	24% (58/235)*	17 % (103/608)**	13% (42/333)	17% (203/1176)**
No CMC	32% (95/296)	26% (187/740)	13% (45/339)	25% (327/1375)
TOTAL	**28% (153/531)**	**22% (290/1348)**	**13% (87/672)**	**21% (530/2551)**

* *Significant at .05 level*
** *Significant at .01 level*

The Texas Board of Pardon and Paroles approached their evaluation in a slightly different manner. During March and April 1985, approximately 200 officers were trained and using CMC while another 200 officers had not received the training. Although officers were not randomly selected, trained officers were similar in all respects (i.e., experience, demographics, etc.) to untrained officers. During March and April, roughly half of the offenders released from prison were assigned to CMC-trained officers and went through the process while half did not. A sample was drawn from all cases released from prison from March through April 1985. The sample consisted of 2,551 cases, with 46 percent of the sample classified by CMC and 54 percent non-CMC cases.

An examination of the relationship of CMC to outcome was completed at 6 and 12 month intervals of release experience. The cases were grouped as poor, fair, and good risks using the salient factor scale as a control. The salient factor scale, which is also used by the U.S. Parole Commission, has been repeatedly validated on the Texas parole population as a reliable predictor of parole outcome. A single outcome measure, pre-revocation warrants issued, was used instead of actual rate of return to prison because of the small number of cases actually returned during the short follow-up period. Pre-revocation warrants are issued for serious parole rule violations such as new law violations and serious technical violations. Table 2 presents the results. The CMC cases reported lower pre-revocation rates at both the six month (10 percent vs. 16 percent) and 12 month (17 percent vs. 25 percent) follow-up period. CMC also was most affective with the more difficult and higher risk subjects.

The third CMC study occurred in South Carolina during 1985 and 1986. Two groups of offenders (219 CMC cases and 200 non-CMC cases) were followed for a minimum of one year. The groups were matched on the basis of offense, risk score, and level of supervision, with the major difference between them being the use of CMC with one of the groups. To be included as a CMC experimental, records had to indicate that CMC interviews were conducted; classifications established; and, most importantly, CMC-based case plans were developed and implemented.

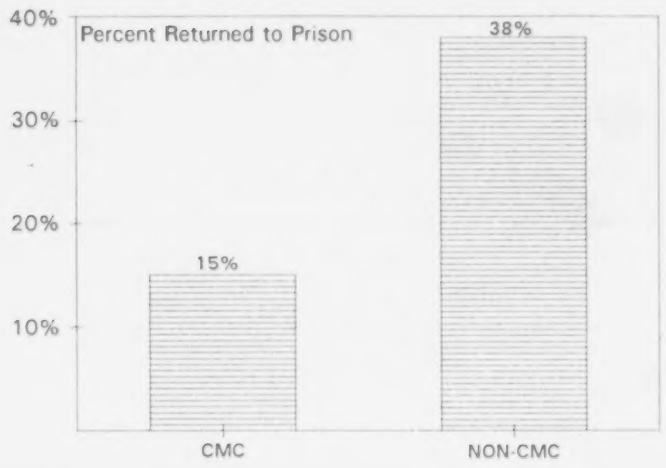
This study produced the most favorable results reported to date, as shown in Figure 2. Some of the difference may be due to selection bias (staff using the CMC system as instructed by agency policy may have been the most conscientious and effective officers). Nevertheless, the results are indeed impressive.

These evaluations of CMC consistently indicate that use of CMC leads to significantly improved outcomes in field supervision cases. The implication for these findings is apparent. For example, if an agency were able to achieve results like those reported in South Carolina (a 23 percent decrease in the return-to-prison rate) it could have an obvious positive fiscal impact. This level of success is especially relevant, given that many states are reporting dramatic increases in the numbers of offenders admitted to prison as either a parole or probation violator.

PRISONER MANAGEMENT CLASSIFICATION (PMC)

The Prisoner Management Classification (PMC) system was adapted from the CMC system developed for probation and parole. PMC is designed to provide

FIGURE 2
South Carolina Return-to-Prison Rates
12 Month Follow-up



prison staff with a mechanism to quickly identify potential predators and victims as well as inmates requiring special programming or supervision.

PMC was designed to produce the following interventions:

- Separate housing of inmates according to their PMC classification;
- Specialized supervision in each PMC-designed housing unit using PMC inmate management guidelines; and
- Utilization of PMC to determine appropriate placement in counseling and other institutional programs.

A rigorous experimental field test of the PMC system was conducted by NCCD in the State of Washington, with funding from the National Institute of Justice. In the NCCD study, inmates assigned to medium custody levels at intake were randomly assigned to either Clallam Bay Correction Center which used the PMC system (experimental group) or other prisons using traditional classification systems (control group). The purpose of the study was to measure the effectiveness of PMC in improving the overall operations of a prison and in reducing the risk of safety for staff and inmates.

At Clallam Bay, inmates were housed in a PMC-appropriate unit (CC, ES/SI, or LS) or in a general population unit until space became available in the PMC-appropriate unit. In addition to housing decisions, the PMC case handling guide was to be used by staff to aid in preparing written case plans and in making the most appropriate programming decisions.

A process evaluation showed that 84 percent of the Clallam Bay prison staff believed that inmate behaviors were similar to the description of their PMC type and 75 percent believed that PMC was better than previous methods for supervising inmates. Staff reported that each of the PMC housing units took on distinct "personalities" consistent with the PMC descriptions. They also reported success in using different styles of interacting with inmates in each unit based on PMC guidelines.

While Clallam Bay successfully used PMC for housing assignments and unit supervision, its use for programming and case planning was more problematic, primarily because educational and industries programs were not fully developed at the new facility. Consequently, the evaluation really consisted of a test of the effectiveness of a separate housing situation according to CMC typologies.

The impact evaluation looked at differential rates of misconduct for the experimental and control groups. As shown in Table 3, the PMC inmates performed better than the control group on both measures of major and serious major infractions over a six-month period.

The experimental study (Table 3) showed that separation of the SI/ES inmates from the CC/LS inmates and differential supervision by PMC types resulted in less major misconduct and increased staff and inmate safety.

A RECENT INNOVATION - A CMC SYSTEM FOR JUVENILES

CMC was specifically designed for work with adult offenders. As the system was introduced in agencies across the country, a great deal of interest was expressed in a similar system for use with juvenile offenders. As a result of that interest, the developers of CMC, in collaboration with other juvenile specialists, set about to create such a system. In 1988, Strategies for Juvenile Supervision (SJS) was implemented in Colorado and has since been adopted in a number of other juvenile agencies. SJS retains all the positive features of CMC with the added advantage of a single interview adapted for juveniles in institutions or in the field. In addition, a carbon-thru process allows for increased efficiency in the mechanics of scoring the interview. (This carbon-thru process is currently being adapted to the adult system to provide the same benefits in the mechanics of scoring.)

Because SJS is a recently implemented process, no follow-up studies of effectiveness have been published. However, juvenile officers who use the system were polled six months after training to obtain their evaluation of the system. Of the 107 officers who responded:

- 67 percent found SJS "very helpful" as a tool for working with juveniles and 32 percent found it "helpful."
- 94 percent reported it had improved their understanding of juveniles and 92 percent stated it had improved their ability to anticipate problems.
- 55 percent rated SJS as an "excellent" initial interview, 31 percent as "good,"

12 percent as "fair," and only 2 percent as "poor."

- 87 percent recommended SJS for all juvenile workers, 10 percent for inexperienced workers, and 3 percent did not recommend it.

While these results are in no sense definitive, they suggest that SJS may be a positive development in the supervision of juvenile offenders.

CONCLUSION

Three separate evaluations of the CMC system all indicate that its use can significantly improve the effectiveness of community supervision in the adult system. Its adaptation for use in adult prisons and other residential programs is also quite promising. A rigorous experimental study of the PMC implemented for the Washington Department of Corrections found that PMC reduced levels of violence at the test prison. Perhaps most promising is the development of a similar process (SJS) for use with juvenile offenders. Juvenile caseloads, in many instances, remain well below those of adult systems, creating an atmosphere more conducive to comprehensive case planning and treatment. While no evaluations of effectiveness have been conducted in the juvenile arena, the system has been enthusiastically embraced by staff.

It would be inappropriate to conclude an overview of this system without addressing the most commonly-voiced criticism; CMC takes too long to administer. On average, it takes an hour to do the CMC interview, and an additional half hour to score and develop an initial case plan. It is recommended that this take place early in the supervision process. For some agencies, this one-time investment of 90 minutes appears to be a major expenditure of time. And, indeed, it could be an inappropriate expenditure for offenders who will receive limited supervision (e.g., minimum, write-in supervision, etc.). However, the results reported above would indicate that with high risk offenders, it could be an investment which yields high dividends.

A second complaint involves the training necessary to implement the system successfully. The most effective training method requires a 40-hour block involving a combination of classroom discussion and field practice. In order to minimize the need to use consultant trainers, larger agencies have participated in an additional 40-hour program which prepares their staff to train others in the system. Various alternatives to shorten the training time have been tried and found inadequate. This is a reasonably comprehensive system for dealing with offenders, and the shaping of skills necessary to use it properly requires time commensurate with its value. Ultimately, individual jurisdictions must evaluate results such as those outlined above, assess their relevance to local reality, and determine whether the investment is warranted. As probation, parole, and institutional populations increase in size and complexity, the positive results reported in independent studies of CMC cannot be ignored.

TABLE 3

Washington State
Six-Month Infraction Rates

Infractions	PMC (N=243)		No PMC (N=245)			
	%	Mean	%	Mean	chi	t-test
Major	38.7	0.89	43.8	0.98	p=0.24	p=0.003
Serious Major*	7.6	0.08	12.4	0.14	p=0.07	p=0.001

*Serious major infractions include:

- assault resulting in hospitalization;
- possession of weapons;
- possession of narcotics, intoxicants, or paraphernalia;
- possession of staff clothing;
- rioting; and
- inciting a riot.

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